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Fragments From an XVIII[TH] Century Diary

THE TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF

Don Francisco de Miranda

1771 - 1789

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY

JORDAN HERBERT STABLER

Caracas

Tipografía "La Nación"

1931

FRAGMENTS FROM AN XVIII TH. CENTURY DIARY

1771 - 1789

Portrait of Miranda by Georges Rouget, which appears in the "Archivo del General Miranda", published by the Government of Venezuela, Caracas 1930 - Vol. VIII. The original is in the Gallery of Portraits of the Generals of the French Revolution at Versailles.

FRAGMENTS FROM AN XVIIITH CENTURY DIARY

THE TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF

Don Francisco de Miranda

PRECURSOR OF THE INDEPENDENCE
OF SPANISH AMERICA

In Spain, Africa, North America, Europe and at the Court of
Catherine the Great of Russia.
1771 - 1789

★

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED
BY
JORDAN HERBERT STABLER
WITH A PREFACE BY
R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM

Caracas
Tipografía "La Nación"
1931

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1931

JORDAN HERBERT STABLER

By the same author:

"The Jargon of Francois Villon"
Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass., 1918.

"The Songs of Li-Tai-Pe"
E. H. Wells & Co., New York, N. Y., 1922.

"Bolivar - In Memoriam"
Tip. Vargas, Caracas, Venezuela, 1930.

"Fragments from an XVIIIth. Century Diary"
"The Travels and Adventures of Don Francisco de Miranda". 1771-1789. — Tip. "La Nación", Caracas, Ven., 1931.

In preparation:

"Further Fragments from an XVIIIth. Century Diary"
Miranda: 'Knight Errant of Liberty' -- 1789-1812.

923.7
M672A

To

Robert and to Mildred Bliss, staunch friends,
Who both, so oft', have lent a helping hand
To guide, to aid and to encourage me
Along Life's *"Golden Road to Samarkand!"*

I dedicate this book, for what it's worth,
The story of a man, with *one Ideal,*
Who wandered, *as we have,* about the Earth,
And steadfast put his shoulder to the Wheel,

And strove to learn in every Land and Clime
All that he could to fit him to *Command,*
And lead his people in a Cause sublime,
Along his *"Golden Road to Samarkand!"*

J. H. S.

Caracas, October 1931.

"We are the Pilgrims, Master we shall go
Always a little further: it my be
Beyond that last blue Mountain barred with Snow,
Across that angry or that glimmering Sea.

"White on a Throne or guarded in a Cave,
There lives a Prophet, who can understand
Why Men were born: but surely we are brave
Who take the Golden Road to Samarkand!"

"Hassan".

James Elroy Flecker.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

His Excellency General Juan Vicente Gómez, Constitutional President of the United States of Venezuela, with his never failing interest in and love for the History of his Country, made it possible, in 1927, for the Archives of the Precursor of the Independence of Spanish America, to be obtained by the Venezuelan Nation and deposited in the National Academy of History in Caracas, that City to which they had been destined by Miranda, as their final resting place.

It is, therefore, to General Gómez and those who assisted him in this task, that thanks must be given, for having made these most important and interesting Historical Documents accessible to the World at large.

I wish also, to give my appreciative thanks to Dr. Vicente Dávila, Director of the National Archives of Venezuela and also to Dr. Luis Correa, Member of the National Academy of History of Venezuela and writer on historical subjects, for their continued interest in my labors and for their valuable assistance in my work of compiling these fragments of Miranda's Diaries, which I have chosen as giving a picture of the more human side of the man, during this period of his life and as showing the steadfastness of purpose, which animated him in the pursuit of his great Ideal.

I also desire to tender my appreciation to the Government of Venezuela, through Dr. Vicente Dávila, for its kindnes in allowing me to reproduce, herewith, the various illustrations I have used, which have appeared in the remarkable edition of the Miranda Manuscripts, entitled "Archivo del General Miranda", published by the Nation in 1930, under the able direction of Dr. Dávila.

I have used as a basis for this work the original documents in Spanish, which form the Archives of the Precursor of the Independence of Spanish America and include his lengthy and very detailed diaries of his adventures in various parts of the World.

I have also consulted, with great benefit, among others, the following works:

"Archivo del General Miranda", published in 1930 by the National Government of Venezuela under the direction of Dr. Vicente Dávila.

"Ensayo histórico documentado de la vida de Don Francisco de Miranda" by Ricardo Becerra.

The section on Miranda in Aspurua's "Lives of the South American Patriots".

"Miranda et la Revolution Francaise" by Dr. C. Parra Pérez;

The chapter on Miranda in Mancini's "Bolivar"; and

"The Life of Miranda" by Dr. William Spence Robertson, to whom is due the greatest praise for his unflagging interest in Miranda and for his notable labors in locating the long lost Miranda Archives".

JORDAN HERBERT STABLER.

N. B.—The early diaries of Miranda, from which these excerpts have been taken, were written in Spanish and it is from this language that these translations have been made. Now and again, Miranda made a notation in English or in French. Later in his life he wrote, at times in English or in French, in which languages he had become very proficient.

CONTENTS

PREFACE by R. B. Cunninghame Graham ... ... Page 1
LETTER RELATIVE TO THE MIRANDA ARCHIVES 4

PART I — EARLY DAYS 1770 - 1785

CHAPTER 1 — The Captaincy General of Caracas 6
CHAPTER II — A Young Colonial Comes to Spain 11
CHAPTER III — Captain Miranda sees action against the Moors 15
CHAPTER IV — The Spanish-French Campaign Against the British in the West Indies 1782. Miranda sees service with the North American Forces. His troubles in Cuba 19

PART 2 — TRAVELS IN THE NEW REPUBLIC. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN 1783-1784

CHAPTER I — The Old South 28
CHAPTER II — Philadelphia at the close of the revolutionary war. Miranda meets General George Washington ... 36
CHAPTER III — New York City and travels through Connecticut and Rhode Island 47
CHAPTER IV — Miranda visits Boston. An insight into its early social life and his comments on New England Customs 55

PART 3 — THE TRAVELS OF "DON JUAN" IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA 1785-1789

CHAPTER I — Boston to London, England-1785 70
CHAPTER II — Colonel Smith and Miranda attend the manouvres of Frederick the Great at Berlin and at Potsdam (Smith's Diary) 1785. 75
CHAPTER III — At the Court of Catherine the Great of Russia. Kieff. Moscow. St. Petersburg. 1787..... 85
CHAPTER IV — Under the protection of the Empress of Russia, a keen observer journeys through scandinavia, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Italy and France to England. 1787-1789. 122

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover — Portrait of Miranda, in the uniform of a General of the revolutionary armies of the French Republic—by Francois Bonneville ... ...

Frontispiece — Portrait of Miranda by Georges Rouget ...

I — Pen and ink sketch of the Emperor of Morocco ... .Page 16

II — Portrait of General J. M. Cagigal 24

III — Facsimile of a page of a letter from General Cagigal to General George Washington 44

IV — Portrait of Colonel William S. Smith 80

V — Portrait of the Empress of Russia 98

VI — Silhouette of Catherine the Great 150

"Which of the Sons of Spanish America should appear, during those days, to take his place among the Heralds of Liberty, both in America, as well as in Europe? . . . . . Miranda, lofty of Spirit, Soul of Honour, the first to dream of the Liberty of the Spanish Colonies and to follow the example of Washington . . . . . .

"Older than Napoleon, younger than Washington, Miranda takes his place between these figures of the modern Revolution as the Precursor *of the emancipation of South America".*

"Estudios Históricos"

de

Arístides Rojas.

" . . . . . map in hand he visited Italy, Austria, Prussia, Constantinople, Russia, and England, studying and at the same time entering into the life of all of these Countries: it has been said that he had the honour of being granted the favors of the Great Catherine; he, Miranda, with all of his adventures, served almost, as a model for the 'Don Juan' *of Byron!"*

JUAN VICENTE GONZÁLEZ.

TO PATRIOTS AND OTHERS

PREFACE

Whether the general ferment in the world, in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution produced the crop of eminent men, who sprang up, almost like Jonah's gourd during the night, or did the Bolivars, Washingtons, Napoleons, Mirandas and their bold compeers cause the ferment, I leave to commentators to decide. It may be that things in general in Europe had got to the breaking point. Kings had become futile, mere kinglets, *"reyezuelos de taifas"*, as the Spaniards call them. The inheritors of great names were but posture makers about the courts, priding themselves only on dancing, fencing and the nice conduct of their clouded canes. Riding the great horse, surely, was a forgotten art.

That universal education, so illuminating and yet so vulgarizing, that has placed us all upon our bended knees before a Press, we curse as venal and yet follow as an oracle, was filtering down amongst the peasantry of every land. Whether their fathers had been dreaming dreams, or no, I cannot tell; but certainly the children of those days were seeing visions.

Voltaire and Rousseau were their Gods; the Encyclopedists, the fathers of their church. Naturally enough, men thought the education from which they had been debarred, would give them brains as well as mere instruction.

They were destined to find out, that of two pebbles taken from a brook, one cut and polished becomes a brilliant,

the other still remains a pebble, although the most skilled workmen of all Amsterdam, expend their art upon it.

Luckily for itself, mankind refuses to take the truths of common sense into consideration, preferring to be fed with dreams. They, after all, are its most natural and substantial foods.

Into this dream world, on the 28th of March 1750. was born in the old city of Santiago de León de Caracas, the capital of the Capitania General of Venezuela, Francisco de Miranda, destined to become if not exactly one of the greatest, certainly one of the most remarkable of the men that pregnant period gave forth, whether in Europe or the Americas.

He was withal a personable man of middle height, with that magnetism that recommends a man to women, which was to stand him in good stead, with all the female sex, from Catherine the Great of Russia, down to the dubious ladies of the Directoire.

A succinct account of Miranda as a *human being,* with all his virtues, vices, failings, aspirations, moments of heroism, his pertinacity in the cause of the independence of his country, and his strange adventures that read like fairy tales, has long been overdue.

Much has been written about him in his native tongue, adorned with many and high sounding adjectives; those adjectives which for two centuries have been the curse of Spanish prose.

It is most fitting now when the mists of ignorance and prejudice which have so long prevented any understanding of each other's good qualities, between the Latins and the Anglo-Saxons, are being partially dispelled, that a true picture of Miranda, the Knight Errant, based on his own story of his voyagings, should be given to the world.

The writer is a man of letters, a traveller and diplomatist, well read in French, Spanish and Portuguese, and has lived long in South America.

Let there be no doubt about the matter, Miranda, if not quite a great man had certainly an astounding person-

ality. Life touched him not only at the center but at innumerable points all round the circle. Soldier, courtier, administrator, man of fashion, mathematician, lover, linquist, diplomatist, above all patriot, *Precursor* of the independence of his country, he missed the position, Fate held in store for Bolívar, by a hair's breadth.

He lacked, perhaps, that something, indefinable, intangible, tenuous, ethereal; that something as far above mere talent, as talent is above mediocrity; that something which Bolívar and Napoleón had, but which was lacking even in Washington.

With learning, courage, charm, Miranda was endowed to the full. He was preeminently an honest man who, when his stirrup touches yours, riding to turn a wild stampede across the flying cattles' front, makes you feel not all alone, like "Athanasius contra mundum", in the darkness of the night.

It may be that he was too universal and certainly the sixty and three volumes of his archives which contain his voluminous diary, the legacy he has left to Venezuela and the World show him to have been a man of versatility.

All was fish for his net, the meshes so constructed as to hold both the Caribe (1) and the Caiman (2).

Instructions how to play the flute, a letter from the Bell Ringers of Portsmouth, Wilkes' "Essay on Woman", letters on high politics, letters from Catherine of Russia, Pitt, Dumouriez, and Monroe, Lord Cochrane, Wellington, and Wilberforce, all jostle one another.

He led his people over the Red Sea; through the first stages across the desert. Like Moses, he looked out across the land his feet were destined not to tread.

Withal, *he* sowed the seed Bolivar, Páez and the rest of

---

(1) Caribe: the small fish which abounds in thousands in the Apure River and in the Orinoco and is most dangerous to travellers fording streams, as they attack humans and animals in great shoals, once they sense blood or a fresh wound.

(2) The South American crocodile.

the hard riding, patriots saw grow to a tall palm waving above the plains.

He failed in his demand, but then how much more interesting is failure than success! Had he succeeded he might have met with disillusion. Success turns often to Dead Sea fruit in the mouth. Nothing can take away his title of *Precursor,* almost as glorious as that of Liberator.

He has remained the martyr to the cause, of which Bolívar was the hero.

Painted by Michelena, seated on his pallet bed in the Spanish prision of "La Carraca", he seems to listen to the murmuring of the waves on the black shoal... Las Puercas... on which so many galleons have been lost... and through the grated windows of his cell to see Cadiz float like a Nautilus kissed by the restless sea.

R. B. Cunninghame Graham.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER ADDRESSED TO DR. LAUREANO VALLENILLA LANZ, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF VENEZUELA, BY DR. VICENTE DAVILA, DR. JOSE E. MACHADO AND DR. LUIS CORREA.

(TRANSLATION)

Caracas, January 25, 1927.

"Sir:

"It gives us pleasure to inform you that we have fulfilled the Mission conferred upon us by the National Academy of History, when we were appointed to receive from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the archives of General Miranda, (Sixty three volumes) which were acquired in London by the National Government, and which for more than a hundred years have remained in the library of the Earl of Bathurst. These diaries, his grandson, Lord Bathurst, has sold to the (Venezuelan) Nation for three

thousand pounds sterling, set aside for this purpose by the President of the Republic, General Juan Vicente Gómez.

"The vicissitudes through which the Archives of Miranda have passed are but little known. These documents were set in order by General Miranda, himself, in 1805 before he left for the United States and prepared the invasion of Coro and Ocumare. After the failure of this attempt, the Precursor of the Revolution, returned to England to continue his labors for the liberation of his country. At the end of the year 1810, when Venezuela was already on the road to absolute independence—the dream of his life time—Miranda set sail for his native land at the urgent request of the future Liberator. He brought with him his Archives, enhanced with the documents corresponding to the five years of active labors (from 1805) up to the time of the arrival in London of the diplomatic mission of Bolívar and López Méndez.

"In 1812, after the unfortunate capitulation made to Monteverde, when Miranda resolved to leave Venezuela, the Governor of Curacao, then under the British flag, placed at his disposal the sloop, "Saphire" under the command of Captain Heynes. Miranda arrived at La Guaira at seven o'clock on the night of July 30th (1812). The Captain of the war vessel came ashore to receive him and insisted that he embark immediately. Miranda sent his personal effects aboard together with his Diaries, with the idea of going aboard the sloop the following day. This hesitation had a fatal result, since he was imprisoned on the 31st. When Capt. Heynes was advised of what had happened and that the port was about to be closed by the Spanish authorities, who were already in possession of the city, he put to sea and proceeded to Curacao and handed over to the Governor, the papers entrusted to his care. The Governor sent them to the Earl of Bathurst, the then powerful Minister of Colonies and it was in his library that they were discovered one hundred and thirty years later".

PART I

EARLY DAYS -- 1770 - 1785

CHAPTER I

THE CAPTAINCY GENERAL OF CARACAS

In the year of Our Lord 1770, when Europe was ringing with the echoes of the "Rights of Man", as advanced by the French Encylopedists, a slim, dark haired youth, head bowed in hands, heart crushed, sat on a stone bench in the tiled patio of a great rambling house in far away Caracas. He could hardly realize that his hopes had been shattered; that his most cherished dream was not to come true.

A red sealed "oficio" had just been delivered from the Civic Authorities, stating in a few terse words that his petition to be admitted into the Royal Cadet Corps of the city—a body composed of the sons of the Creole aristocracy—had been definitely denied.

The future Field Marshal of the Revolutionary Army of France and Commander—in—Chief of the Armies of Independence of Venezuela; the future favourite of Catherine the Great of Russia; the future friend of Washington. Pitt, Sheridan—was striving manfully to hold back bitter tears.

A year before, the town of Santiago de León de Caracas, the capital of the Spanish colony of Venezuela, had been suddenly aroused from its comfortable and accustomed tropical lethargy. A bitter dispute had broken out between the Creole nobility—the descendants of the early Conquistadores, who had formed unto themselves a very jealously guarded aristocracy—and the other Spanish subjects, more recently arrived in the colony.

It was but a pebble dropped in a great pond, but its ripples touched far off shores and were contributory to the final independence of the South American colonies from their Mother Country.

The Creole aristocracy was firmly implanted in the colony. They were the real lords of the land—heirs of those hard trained warriors who had braved unknown danger across the seas and wrested the fertile valleys from their original Indian owners. They held control of civic affairs tightly in their own hands and bridled under the authority of the Captains General sent from Spain.

They, alone of all in the colony, had the right to grow in their gardens and patios of their houses, the "Chaguaramo"—the Venezuelan Royal Palm; their wives and daughters, alone, had the right to wear the "Mantua" and to be known as the "Mantuanas".

An incident — seemingly unimportant — started this dispute: one Sebastián Miranda, a Canary Islander of Spanish Basque origin, a most respectable person, had arrived in the colony many years before. By dint of hard labour and Basque shrewdness in commercial venture, he had prospered and created for himself a comfortable fortune and, as the owner of profitable cacoa plantations, had retired to Caracas and installed himself in a spacious house in the street of the "Divine Aurora".

Don Sebastián had always been interested in military affairs and had held for years a commission in the militia company of his fellow islanders, but had resigned from that body, desiring a military rank of a higher social nature. His wealth and loyalty to the King induced Don José Solano, the Captain General, to grant him a most coveted commission as captain in one of the smart Creole regiments.

Immediately a storm of protest was raised. The ire of the nobility of Caracas was aroused. A new comer, a merchant of the Canary Islands to be allowed to enter their innermost ranks—a thing not to be tolerated! The right of the Captain General to issue such a commission

was questioned and Sebastián Miranda was accused of wearing the uniform of an officer of the Creole regiment without proper authority.

Don Sebastian's pride and that of his family were wounded to the quick. Hotter and hotter grew the controversy until the Captain General finally appealed to His Majesty, the King of Spain for a decisión. The King, seeing that his own authority was being subjected to question, addressed a Royal Command to the Municipal Council. A most remarkable document, which enjoined the local members not to continue their attacks against Miranda, and which threatened removal from office of those who ridiculed him or failed to treat him with respect.

Even though this Royal edict may have helped to salve the pride of the Mirandas, it certainly did not tend to advance their popularity or position with the leaders of the Caracas aristocracy.

Sebastián Miranda's oldest son, young Francisco, was the first to feel the results of this "cause célèbre". At twenty, one feels most keenly any odium meted out to one's family. He had enjoyed the same advantages of education as had the sons of the Creole gentry. He had attended the same church schools, had followed the same courses at the University of Santa Rosa, had received certificates of excellence in his studies—the classics, mathematics, the humanities. He enjoyed the same fortune or a greater, but he was not admitted into their society; he was not invited to their balls or "tertulias" and the culmination of all his unhappiness had when he was refused entrance into their Cadet Corps.

It is true that at twenty, one seldom acquires that quality of patience or that resignation which aids one to face life's rebuffs. At twenty, one sees a defeat magnified a hundred times.

Young Francisco could not envisage a life passed in an environment of hostility and relegation to an inferior place. He kept revolving in his mind his troubles. He could not see why he was not an equal of the Creole

youths. He desired and thirsted to create his own destiny. A hatred was born for a system in which advancement through ability and natural attainments, was not tolerated. From these beginnings, from these uncollected thoughts in the brain of a boy of twenty sprang a great Ideal, which lasted throughout a long and most adventuresome lifetime.

But such Ideals and dreams are vague in their inception and crystalize but slowly. Francisco, boylike, then had in mind the accomplishment of some great deed—some brave feat of arms—something which would cover him with glory and make possible his admittance into the inner circle of his native city. He could see himself, returning from the wars covered with decorations, possibly a *toison d'or*—a *Calatrava,* in the uniform of a general, acclaimed on all sides as he rode through the streets of Caracas, acknowledging the smiles of the fair damsels at the barred windows of their noble houses.

To this end and for the accomplishment of his purpose, nothing was left to Francisco but to seek his fortune abroad and win his golden spurs afield.

He could count on his father's cacao plantations for a considerable revenue to live most fittingly in Madrid and to continue his studies—and so it was decided in family conclave that he set forth for Spain to present himself to his Sovereign and, if possible, obtain a commission in His Majesty's Forces. Letters from the Captain General were also available and, if all went well, in time the honour of the Mirandas would be vindicated.

*
* *

The old road of the Conquistadores, which connects Caracas with the coast, leads from the heart of the city up over the adjacent slopes of cloud-ringed "Avila", and passing the highest peaks of the coastal range, winds down

to the sea in zig-zagging curves. A cobble paved road--*"Camino de recuas"*, built for mule and foot traffic alone; a road which followed the original Indian paths, over which the mail coated conquerors painfully toiled and fought their way to the fertile plateau. A road which was an integral part of the history of the colony: over it had come Vice Roys and captains general, bishops and priests arriving in state from far away Castile; over it had marched bold. Amyas Preston, with his wild freebooters, in the time of the English Queen Bess; over its cobbles had tramped the heavy feet of the French and Dutch pirates on unsuccessful expeditions; over it had passed the interchange of commerce between the old world and the new; over it, perhaps, had climbed the brothers Leigh, Amyas and Eustace, at the time of their chivalrous escapade when in search of the "Rose of Devon". This road was the artery through which had passed the power of Spain and by means of it, the Spanish crown had made fast against almost all comers, its hold on these lands and exploited them for over two centuries, to its great advantage.

1771. The dawn of the new year saw a new life open for Francisco Miranda; saw him start from home along the old road to the sea, headed for Spain and the high adventure. His father had been pleased to furnish him with orders on his bankers in Cadiz for funds with which to purchase a commission and the Captain General had kept his promise in the way of letters of introduction to knowledegable persons about the Spanish Court.

So with beating heart, Francisco set forth and, reaching the summit,, stopped his beast to turn and look his last at Caracas. The city glistened white in the morning sun. The green of the sugar cane, punctuated here and there with a grove of tufted Royal Palms, almost surrounded it. Cathedal towers stood out strongly against the blue of the cloudless sky. The Plaza was a dot in the centre of the town and from it ran the street of the "Divine Aurora."

He could make out the walls and tiled roof of his father's house and its many patios. A pang of homesickness came

over him at thinking that it might be years before he looked again on this familiar scene, and many years it was indeed, but who could have foretold that four decades, decades so full of vivid experience, danger and honours, would have passed before he retraced his steps.

Even though wounded to the very soul at the slight placed upon him, and upon his family, even though he had suffered so bitterly, he loved his birth place. For him it was ever filled with charm and peopled with romantic figures; in his dreams olden time colonial governors, booted, spurred and masked, not adverse to scaling the walls of the houses of their dulcianas, stalked again through its streets and great ladies of an older time with their retinues of magnificently dressed slaves in attendance, on gorgeous visits of ceremony, still passed majestically through rows of bareheaded and admiring dons, who stood aside in the mud of the roadway.

He loved the long valleys lying between succession after succession of low mountains; the cacao plantations and grazing lands on their slopes. But overwhelming ambition possessed him, to make a name which would be respected and to do something for his own land.

CHAPTER II

A YOUNG COLONIAL COMES TO SPAIN

February found him landed in Spain from the Swedish brig, "Príncipe Federico" which, after a long voyage, had brought him at last to Cadiz. A friendly welcome from his family's bankers, the thrill of arriving in the Old World, the new and strange, quickly overcame any longings for home.

As he walked about the old and narrow streets of Cadiz, he reflected that he had really now begun his adventure—had started on his quest. He had commenced in a fine and scholarly round hand, while on the voyage,

a minute diary of his travels, and he determined to keep this practice up—and here was formed the most methodical part of his life. Sixty three volumes, from 1771 to 1810, now hold the story of a most varied life. Step by step, his travels are traced and almost day by day his experiences are described.

A rough and jolting stage coach rolled over bad roads towards Madrid. A young colonial looked with observing eyes from its windows as it trundled through Jerez, Córdova, Guarama and other less notable but picturesque towns.

Francisco liked the capital. It was not so ancient as other cities, but it breathed activity. He fitted himself out as behoved the scion of a wealthy colonial, presented his letters, made his bow at Court, and started in to complete his studies. Mathematics, modern laguages, the classics, and military tactics occupied his mind. The new life fascinated him. He plunged into it with avidity and drank deep. A most retentive mind, coupled with great concentration, stood him in good stead. He noted in his diary an outlay of £ 8.10 for English books. "Hume's Essays", Locke "On Government" and other works of such a profund nature that one wonders how they could be digested except by an older and English speaking person.

*
* *

There had been great changes in Spain some time before. Carlos III had come to the throne, a monarch who had some just claim to fame; the founder of a dynasty in Naples, he was filled with ambition to bring about a renaissance of Spanish power and grandeur. To carry out his purpose, the King took with him to Madrid many of his Italian counsellors, who were well experienced in statesmanship and administration.

The King's most able assistant in his great task, was the noted Count de Aranda, the friend and admirer of the Duc de Choiseul and a disciple, to a certain degree, of the Encyclopedists. A man of great intelligence and unbending character who, on account of long experience in foreign countries was able to give to Spain new ideas and methods, before unknown to her.

Madrid was then a sink of perdition; it needed rebuilding and cleansing of its scores of vagabonds and robbers. Count de Aranda set to work and in a short time had killed or driven out the unruly element and had condemned the most tumble-down and infected portion of the city. A new element was necessary to rebuild the town and various foreigners were brought in to aid. Among these were Italian, German and Swiss engineers and artizans, who brought with them a certain spirit of liberalism; a certain freedom of thought. Elements hitherto totally unknown in Spain and which, even in the face of the Inquisition and its hooded agents, had a certain effect on the students and other seekers after knowledge.

His studies well advanced, his contacts broadened, Miranda thought that he could relax, for a time at least, and so after some months of hard work, he started on his travels through the country. His mind absorbed everything in sight. An expedition to Granada aroused great interest in Moorish architecture. His notes and sketches in his diary are copious and it was here that he formed a lasting appreciation of things artistic and archeological.

In Granada, the seat of the Chief Herald of Spain—Don Ramón Zazo, King-at-Arms of His Most Catholic Majesty, Miranda was able to obtain, to his great joy, a copy of the patent of nobility and *"Limpieza de Sangre"*, i. e., proof that the Miranda family had no taint of Moorish blood; and found that it was entitled to the use of a coat of arms, "composed of a shield bearing on a crimson field, the undraped torsos of five maidens, each holding a golden medal". This escutcheon, he found, had been granted to one Melendo Ansalo de Miranda, for having freed, in bloody

combat with the Moors, five virgins of noble birth, who were being carried off by force to Cordova.

This document duly signed and engrossed on vellum, he proudly added to his diary—probably for future reference and future use in his native city. Whether his descent from Don Melendo was in a direct line or not, has never been directly brought out, but in later life, in other parts of Europe, particularly in Russia, he allowed himself to be addressed as the Count de Miranda. His right to such a title, however, seems to have been disputed by more than one Spanish official, and from the time of his entrance into the French Revolutionary armies, until the time of his death, he made no further use of it.

*
* *

1772, to him a never to be forgotten date, brought with Miranda's entrance into the service of the King of Spain. A liberal payment, even more than letters of recommendation, obtained for him at least a small share of the Royal favour and he was gazetted as a captain in the famous "Princessa" Regiment of the Line, which had won certain renown amongst the regiments of foot for prowess in several campaigns.

As Francisco looked at himself in the mirror, when trying on his new uniform, he was astonished; gone was the provincial youth from the colonies over the seas; gone the shy and retiring boy, who had, a short time before, gazed wide eyed at all the fresh wonders of Madrid. In his place was a smart young Spanish officer, well set up, of medium height, with brown hair and piercing grey eyes; a fresh complexion, and a charming although somewhat severe cast of countenance, which, however, was often softened by a most engaging smile. As he buckled on his sword, he could not help noticing that with it he had also

assumed a distinct look of assurance and an air of command.

CHAPTER III

CAPTAIN MIRANDA SEES ACTION AGAINST THE MOORS

Nearly two years of garrison life in Spain and on the coast of northern Africa followed. On the whole rather monotonous, but which served as a fairly good military school and certainly aided in giving much experience as to life in general. A sheaf of love letters from various ladies of high and low degree—Pepitas, Manolas and others more or less dignified—are found carefully kept in the diary and show that the young officer, of the "Princessa" foot regiment, was most tenderly regarded in certain quarters and that the ardour of his southern temperament was reciprocated. Successes with the fair sex, Miranda reflected, did not always mean that one was also persona grata with one's brother officers, and he found that for the most part a *Colonial* had to fight his own battles and learn to command respect for himself as well as to command his company. He realized that he was very much on his own resources, very far from any ties of relationship, and that he must make, for himself, his own position. Naturally this tended to form his character at an early age and his dominant will grew stronger as time passed and made it possible for him to confront many later difficulties with a courageous heart.

Under Carlos III, the policy of Spain as regarded northern Africa, had changed to a considerable extent. The King, with a desire for economy, and not being imbued with traditional hatred of the Moors, as were his subjects, had in mind the reduction of the military forces, and the limitation of the Spanish sphere of influence along the African coast of the Mediterranean.

However, this programme was to be most unexpectedly altered. The Moorish Sultan made a sudden attack against the Spanish garrisons at Melilla and Peñón de Vélez. The military party at Court, which had looked askance at a reduction in the army, and which was seeking the first opportunity to obtain control of Government affairs, seized the occasion to demand that an expeditionary force be sent forthwith to chastise the Moors.

Grimaldi, one of the King's Neapolitan satellites, now Minister of State, fell in readily with the plans of the military. To ally himself with a nationalistic idea would certainly advance him personally. In a short time popular opinion was aroused and Spanish pride wounded by Moorish attacks, acclaimed the idea of a punitive expedition. Great preparation were made; men recruited; ships and supplies requisitioned. Late in June 1775, forty five men-of-war and transports, with an army of some 20.000 troops of all arms, set forth for the Barbary Coast under the command of that Ibero-Hibernian general, Count O'Reilly.

Melilla was a small African port with an old fashioned fortress, hot, dusty and monotonous. Miranda did not relish the thought of spending a year or more in such a dull garrison. His company of the "Princessa" had been sent there some time before and aided in the defense during the first attacks of the Moors in 1774. But it was not so monotonous as he had first thought. It was here that he had his first "baptism by Fire". He set down in his diary a vivid picture of Muley Sultan, The Emperor of Morocco, leading his troops in person, mounted on a superb white horse, carrying a magnificent green parasol, as he rode in the van followed by all his cavalry, some eight to ten thousand strong, splendidly mounted, bearing the green, yellow and red standard of Damascus.

Francisco was surprised that the Moors did not push their attacks, having great advantage in numbers, but even though there was almost continuous skirmishing and many assaults, the besiegers were able to hold their position for many months. During this period, he profited by first

Portrait of the Emperor of Morroco. The original is a pen and ink sketch, which Miranda kept in his diary of the seige of Melilla-1775, Vol. I. "Viajes". This copy appears in the "Archivo del General Miranda"-Caracas 1930, Vol. I.

hand experience to learn some of the most important rules of war. His superior officers reported that he showed a marked degree of military ability; that he had prepared and presented a carefully worked out plan for a counter attack, which was most commendable. He was mentioned in dispatches as having showed courage and bravery although he was considered somewhat rash.

Even though O'Reilly's expedition arrived in time to relieve the besieged fortress, it was not a success from a punitive point of view. It suffered considerable losses and did not inflict any decided defeat upon the Moors. Count O'Reilly was soon transferred to Andalusia as Inspector General and Grimaldi, only with considerable difficulty, was able to retire the Spanish forces and withdraw from a most unfortunate situation.

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Upon the return of his company from Melilla, Miranda was sent to join his regiment at Málaga. This gave him an opportunity on his way thither, to stop at Gibraltar and study its fortifications and make copious notes on what he saw, for future guidance. Not long after he had rejoined his regiment, he presented a petition asking for Royal permission to make a visit to Prussia, and other parts of Germany, as well as to various other European countries, in order to pursue his military studies. But his request was denied. It did indeed seem hard that his desire to make himself more proficient in his profession should be thwarted. It seemed to him as if any real wish to learn something which might be of service to his country, any intelligent proposal to improve his mind, was not to be tolerated, was something to be immediately rejected.

Miranda had made himself distinctly unpopular with Count O'Reilly and with other officers of the War Ministry. He, himself says in a letter to the King of Spain, written

from London in 1785, in defense of his position, after he had left the Army, that the Inspector General had taken exception to certain remarks he had made in regard to O'Reilly's conduct of the Moorish campaign. He was certainly inclined to be hot headed and impetuous. Moreover his ideas of equality, together with certain ideals of liberty of action, which he had gleaned from his wide reading and studies, while in Madrid, when he had, most probably, come into contact with some of the northern European exponents of the liberty of thought, had placed him in the bad books of the military hierarchy and possibly of the familiars of the Inquisition.

His interest in liberal principles were known to the Inspector General. They were the cause of his being made to answer embarrassing questions by Count O'Reilly.

"Did he go to Mass?"

"Did he read philosophical works?"

"Did he play the flute?"

The first of which he had to answer in the negative and he had to confess to the other two.

Life *was* complicated. He sincerely wished to succeed in his military career, in which he had set his heart. But an active and energetic mind *could not* set aside firm convictions and he *would not* give up his cherished ideals. It was particularly hard, Miranda found, for a Colonial, an *American,* as he called himself when writing to the King of Spain, to obtain promotion in the Army. What a paradox; it was impossible in the colony for the son of a Spanish subject, recently arrived, to obtain any position in the military establishments of the descendants of the early conquerors, and likewise in Spain, no Colonial could hope to reach any degree of military success in the Regiments of the Line!

As his request for permission to travel in foreign countries had been denied, Miranda's active mind looked for some other way in which to engage itself, other than the routine of barrack life in Cádiz, where his regiment had been ordered. He then heard that a part of his battalion had been ordered to proceed to South America to take part

in the River Plate and Brazil expedition. He immediately presented a petition requesting to be sent with these forces, but O'Reilly again refused him permission and he had to go with his regiment, some time later, to Madrid.

In Madrid, he had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Don Juan Manuel Cajigal, the new Colonel of the "Princessa", who took a liking to the young man and who, later, was to have a very important influence on his destinies. It was here also that he had a long drawn out quarrel with a brother officer; a dispute over control of regimental funds; and, at his own request, he was transferred once more to Cádiz.

The Inspector General had him, again, up before him on the carpet. He was given a proper raking over the coals. He was told that he had tried to "subvert the laws of the Kingdom" by reason of his many petitions. "However", said O'Reilly, "If you wish to go out to North America in the Expeditionary Force of General de Navia, which is now fitting out in this port, go and be damned to you!"

CHAPTER IV

THE SPANISH-FRENCH CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BRITISH IN THE WEST INDIES. MIRANDA SEES SERVICE WITH THE NORTH AMERICAN FORCES. HIS TROUBLES IN CUBA.

Miranda was overjoyed. Here was a chance for action on a scale of some magnitude. Here was an opportunity to distinguish himself and to be free of the continual ill will of the Inspector General and the "cabal" which he felt was working against him in his own regiment. Although somewhat loath to accept a favour at the hands of an enemy, he accepted and was gazetted to the "Aragón Regiment".

The long existing rivalry between France and England, the insurrection of the latter's North American colonies, and their recognition by the Court of Versailles in 1778, had led to war between the two countries. The news of the outbreak of these hostilities was not received too favourably by Spain, the then ally of France. She did not desire to go to war, particularly with Great Britain, and she did not relish the championing of the North American cause by France, fearing, with reason, a repercussion of the desire for independance in her own American colonies.

Count de Florida Blanca, the successor of Grimaldi, attempted, at the outset, to mediate between the opposing powers, but the French would not agree to withhold their aid to the thirteen colonies and the counter proposals which she made, were not accepted by England. These mediations proving fruitless and Spain, bound to France by the provisions of their Treaty of Alliance, having completed all of her military preparations, threw down the gauntlet and made a formal declaration of war against England.

Although its fleet had met with reverses in European waters, the Spanish crown decided to send an expedition to America to co-operate with the French in capturing certain English possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

This turn of events caused a complete change in Miranda's life. It also marked a turning point in the future of South America.

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Francisco stood on the high deck of the transport and looked at the receding shores of Spain. Here was the very thing for which his heart craved—action and a helping hand to bring independence to an oppressed people. An American people, at that — brothers born on the same hemisphere, although not of the same blood. The "High Adventure" at last, and a blow to be dealt at the oppressive

"system" of the old world towards the new, and a shot to be fired for the "equality of peoples".

When the expeditionary forces reached the West Indies and anchored off the Islands of Dominica and Guadeloupe, the Commander-in-Chief appointed Miranda as aide-de-camp to the Commissioner General, who was none other than his old Colonel, Don Juan de Cagigal. Francisco was delighted to serve under a friend and started in at once upon his duties of supervising the disembarkation of troops and the establishment of base hospitals in the Islands.

There was much work to be done in conjunction with their French allies in preparation for the coming campaign, and Miranda's organizing ability and knowledge of the language were of great service to his General.

Once the military base was well established in the Antilles, an expedition was sent to the Florida coast, which was then in British hands, and the town of Pensacola was captured and the English forces withdrew. Miranda took part in this expedition and describes in his diary the landing of the Spanish forces and the capture of the forts.

"On May 9th.,1781," he writes,"at seven A. M., Sergeant Major Campbell came to our camp with full powers to conclude a capitulation; and at two P. M., all was terminated as regards the arrangements and the conferring of all the honours of war upon the garrison. At three, General Galvez left with two companies of Grenadiers to take over the city, and they were well received by the inhabitants."

Diary. Pensacola Florida May, 1781.

"May 10th. The General, other officers and their aides, etc., were to-day quartered in the town. At three P. M., the General, with six companies of grenadiers, took over the fort and its dependencies; the garrison then marched out and forming at some distance from the fort, surrendered their flags and arms to our troops. The guards in the captured fort were then relieved and the British banner was lowered and that of Spain run up. Thus was concluded a military scene, more than a little shameful for the vanquished!"

The combined efforts of the Spaniards and their French allies met with a considerable amount of success

in Florida and West Indian waters, and when the Spanish forces returned to Havana, General Cagigal appointed Miranda to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and sent him as his representative to conclude arrangements with the Governor of Jamaica for the exchange of prisoners. This mission, which he carried out to the satisfaction of his chief, aroused the ire of certain officers, who charged him with being too friendly with the British during this mission and also accused him of bringing back contraband to Cuba, in the Spanish vessels, employed in exchanging prisoners. These charges and accusations, Miranda did not take much to heart, being too well acquainted with the antagonism shown to a colonial officer and was able to prove them false. General Cagigal, who was genuinely fond of Francisco and found in him many extraordinary qualities, told him to pay no attention to his detractors and continued to give him proof of his friendship and support. Even in the face of an order of General Gálvez, sending Miranda back to Spain, Cagigal was able to keep him with him in Cuba.

Matters adjusted themselves for the time, at least, and the difficulties blew over and Francisco found himself ordered to form part of an expedition to attempt the capture of the Bahama Islands. The attacking force was composed of a Spanish fleet, co-operating with light-armed American brigantines from the Southern Colonies and the frigate "South Carolina".

It was most interesting, Miranda thought, to have an opportunity to become personally acquainted with North Americans and to serve side by side with various officers of the continental American army and navy. He was delighted to hear, first-hand, the story of the great battles in the Revolutionary war, and to learn from his new friends the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the new faith which had been born in the Western Hemisphere. Here he formed lasting friendships and ties which served him well in later years.

The superior forces of the Spaniards and Americans speedily brought about the capture of the Bahamas and the British garrison was forced to sorrender. On May 20th

of the same year, General Cagigal wrote to General Gálvez—"My dear General; My aide-de-camp, Don Francisco "de Miranda, bears you these documents and also such a "map of this place and its port and fortifications as time "permits to be made, together with a statement as to the "strength of the garrison, number of artillery and amount "of munitions, etc., which were found in the town. Fur- "thermore, he takes you a formal copy of the capitulation.

"I think it my duty to advise your Excellency as to "the particular merit, which I have encountered in the "above mentioned officer, who has served me at this time "as aide-de-camp, and who has conducted himself during "the whole of the campaign with singular zeal and distinction".

Flushed with pride at the praise bestowed upon him by his general, Miranda set off to return to Cuba, expecting to be cordially received, but he inmediately became involved in further difficulties with the military authorities and was sent from Galvez's headquarters at Guárico to Havana under arrest. Again he was ordered to proceed to Spain to answer charges. This time he had to comply and set sail with General Cagigal. Bad weather, however, prevented their vessel from making much progress and they were forced to return to Havana.

It was here that a series of charges were formulated against Miranda. The old ones, as well as certain new ones. He was accused of permitting the British General, Campbell, to visit, without the proper authority, the fortifications of Havana. He was charged with not having sufficiently protected the interests of Spain in the agreement as to exchange of prisoners of war which he signed on behalf of General Cagigal, with Sir Peter Parker, the Governor of Jamaica, and, furthermore, it was brought forth that he had tried to bring into Cuba, without paying duties, various articles, purchased by him in Jamaica.

Again Miranda made a formal denial of these accusations. He pointed out just what he he had done and why he had done it and what he had not done. General Cagigal stood at his side during this trying time and took

his part and assisted him in his denial of these charges. If anyone knew what were the real activities of Miranda, at this time, it was his General, for the various letters in the diary, written and received by the aide-de-camp, made many references to Cagigal and his instructions and knowledge of what had passed in Jamaica and in other places.

It was probably due to his own audacity and self assurance, Miranda reflected, that he was made the object of frequent attacks and the centre of many disputes; that the hands of many of his superior officers were against him, he was well aware; but he could not feel that he was to blame for being an "American", and he could see no reason for being treated with scorn, just because he was a Colonial. He knew also that his mind probably worked quicker than those of most of his brother officers; that he had delved far deeper into philosophy and the military sciences, than they had done; deeper, certainly, than most personable young officers of his time and age. Was it possibly true that most of his troubles came from the fact that the others were a little afraid of him and of his superior attainments and, perhaps, somewhat jealous of his ability, his magnetism and undoubted charm?

Disloyalty to his King or treason, were most certainly not in his heart. Resentment of his treatment at the hands of the Spanish hierarchy, most certainly was there, but had he not showed great valor and had he not been of great assistance to the mother country in these campaigns?

He had rendered a most decided service to the cause of the independence of the United States, and thereby to the cause of Spain, by arranging, through his influence with General Cagigal, when Governor of Havana, a loan of £ 35.000, from the Cuban Treasury, for Admiral de Grasse for the purchase of supplies for the French fleet. This, in itself, made it possible for the French to enter the Chesapeake Bay which resulted in the capture of Yorktown by the Americans. What reason should he have had for betraying Spain to the British? None at all and so he

ait of General Juan Manuel de Cagigal, friend and protector of Miranda. This copy is taken from the diary of Miranda - Vol. IV. "Viajes", and appears in the "Archivo del General Miranda" - Caracas 1930, Vol. V.

certainly thought, when he attempted to vindicate himself before the King of Spain and to return to Madrid in 1785 to clear himself of the charges made against him.

His ideas for the self government of the colonies had certainly not formed a definite shape at this time, for Spain there was no real hatred in his heart—of this he was sure and he realized that the root of all the evil which had befallen him came from a *system,* which could be amended.

In 1799 the Council of the Indies finally made answer to a memorial which General Cagigal had presented long before to the King, defending himself from the same general charges which had been made against Miranda. This answer set forth that the charges were not founded on fact and cleared both Cagigal and his aide-de-camp of all the accusations made against them.

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The night upon which the news reached him of the order issued by the Judge of Instruction, for his arrest, Miranda paced the terrace of his lodgings deep in thought. He could look across the bay to El Morro; across the bay where the lights of many ships riding at anchor swayed to and fro.

He decided that the moment had come for a decision. He did not feel that he could get justice at the hands of the Court. He knew that if he were sent back to Spain, the same "cabal" would work against him and that he had no chance to be heard. He hated not to face his accusers and throw their charges back into their faces. But to what avail? He, alone, could not resist the power of Castile arrayed against him. The lights of the ships, swaying on the tide, beckoned.

Across a small body of water lay a friendly land; a land which had just won its independence from a "system" which had oppressed it; a land where equality was the

basis of the new Republicanism. There he had friends, made during the campaign.

Why stay in Cuba, harrassed by enquiries; why not learn for himself what were the real results of that dearly bought liberty? He was also an American and, such, had not received much respect or assistance at the hands of the majority of his European compatriots. Might he not now proceed on a tour of study of conditions in the United States and other countries, for which leave had hitherto been denied. Might he not fit himself to be of better service to his native land, when need called? He paced back and forth, until the stars dimmed in the sky, and the lights of the ships began to fade; but the lights won. His mind was made up. He would go. He was not deserting. Cagigal, who had written fully in his defense to the King of Spain, would feel that until the Royal answer came, he should not give himself up to the Civil Authorities. Cagigal would approve of his decisión and give him letters to aid him.

And so a small American sailing ship put slowly out of the harbour, some hours later, bearing a young Venezuelan, to a land which was rejoicing in its new Freedom!

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In connection with Miranda's travels in the United States, the following quotation from a letter which John Adams wrote to James Lloyd in 1815 is of interest:

"During our revolutionary war, General Miranda came to the United States, travelled through many, if not all of them, was introduced to General Washington and his aides and secretaries, and the gentlemen of his family, and to many of the colonels. He acquired the character of a classical scholar, of a man of universal knowledge, of a great general and master of the military sciences, and of great sagacity and inquisitive mind and insatiable curiosity. It was a general opinion and report that he knew more

of the families, parties and connections in the United States than any other man in them; that he knew more of every campaign, siege, battle and skirmish, that had ever occurred in the whole war than any officer of the army or any statesman in our councils. His constant topic was the independence of South America, her immense wealth, inexhaustible resources, innumerable population, impatience under the Spanish yoke, and disposition to throw off the dominion of Spain. It is most certain that he filled the heads of many of the young officers with brilliant visions of wealth, free trade, republican government, etc., etc., in South America.

"Hamilton was one of his most intimate friends and confidential admirers and Colonel Smith, I presume, was another..."

PART II

TRAVELS IN THE NEW REPUBLIC. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN 1783-1784.

CHAPTER I

THE OLD SOUTH.

Miranda's Diary, Translation. Havana, Cuba. June 1 1783

"At nine in the morning, I set sail in the American sloop, "Prudente", Captain Wilson: my good friend, Don Ignacio Menocal, came to say farewell to me and stayed until the last moment. His conduct has, day by day, given me further occasion to admire his honesty and sane judgment in the very midst of vice and corruption... what a pleasing thought to remember! At the same time as we left (the harbour) the whole squadron and Spanish convoy, under the command of Lieutenant General D. Josef Solano, set sail for Cádiz, carrying on board the greater part of the expeditionary forces and about 60.000.000 pesos in coin, also fruits; these products have been kept back in our America since the declaration of war".

June 2nd. "The wind and currents were so favorable that at daybreak we only sighted two small vessels of the whole fleet and convoy..."

As he looked southward from the deck of the "Prudente", Miranda held his breath as the last two sails of the Spanish squadron faded into the distance. He was free—he was the sole director of his destiny.

The ten years in Europe and on campaign had produ-

ced a very sophisticated man of the world. Certain experiences at Court and in the great world of Madrid had turned out a polished courtier, so when, at the age of thirty three, Miranda, disembarked at New Berne, N. C. en route to Charleston, he was fully equipped to meet and deal with any situation which the Fates had in store for him.

The friendships formed during the Bahama Campaign with various Carolina officers were the means of immediate introduction to the most distinguished inhabitants of the place.

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"At five p. m. I disembarked and took lodgings at the tavern of Mr. Oliver, paying a peso a day for bed and board, which price appeared to be extremely reasonable on account of the cleanliness and good service in the establishment.

New Berne
N. C.
June 10th.

"The principal inhabitants who are in town at this time are Mr. Ogden, Mr. Blount, Marquis de Britigney (a French officer in the service of this State) Mr. Oram, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Seatgreaves, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Shilbeack, Mr. Goff, Monsieur Heró, Dr. McClure, Dr. Halling, Mr. Johnston, Monsieur Mayoli, etc., who called upon me and showed me the greatest hospitality, which lasted during the whole of my stay; it must be remarked, however, that their ideas in general are not yet very liberal and their social system is still provincial - (en mantillas).

"The ladies (particularly the married ones) keep a monastic seclusion, and such a submission to their husbands as I have never before seen! They are neatly dressed and their whole life is domestic-after they marry they refrain from intimate friandships and their whole life is centered

on the care of their house and family. The first year of their married life they pose as lovers, the second, as mothers, and the third and the rest of their lives as housekeepers.

"On the contrary the unmarried girls have every liberty, and go alone to walk wherever they wish, without any criticism.

"The men dress with negligence and in a most common manner. All smoke tobacco, generally a pipe - the rest chew to such excess that several have told me that they cannot go to bed and to sleep without a *quid* in their mouths. ... ...

"The population of this town is about five hundred families of all classes; the houses are fair, they are small as a general rule but clean and comfortable ... ...

"The other day, I went to visit the plantation of Mr. Ogden, with Colonel Blount, Seatgreaves and young Ogden; their crops consist of corn, barley, wheat and potatoes; the fruit trees are full of fruit... a sight which is not regarded by the inhabitants of the place with as great a pleasure as by travellers, for they know by experience that a year of much fruit brings fever; which illness is very prevalent in this malarial part of the country and ruins the constitution and complexion, making pale even the ruddiest European faces.

New Berne
June 20th.

"Certain ladies, however, keep their lovely colouring, as well as their health. The particular friends whom I like are Mrs. Nash, Mrs. Ellis, Senior, Mrs. Schilbeack, Mrs. Cooke, Mrs. Cooke Senior, Mrs. Oliver, and Mrs. Egliston; their manners are a trifle reserved, but when one enjoys a certain confidence with them, they are most agreeable and amusing. Mrs. Stanley (whose husband was absent and is the principal merchant of the place), is a very delightful person, but I did not have the pleasure of getting to know her as well as I wished. Miss Cogdell, her sister, is one of the most beautiful persons with a blond complexion that I have seen in the whole of America".

The old South, with its charm of plantation life and its slaves, made Miranda homesick for his family hacienda

in far away Venezuela. He took a great interest in the development of the architecture and the system of provincial government. Here was a happy race of people, who at great cost, had obtained their independence, but who were able to live side by side with their late enemies and who, still followed most of the customs brought from England in the past.

After some weeks in and about New Berne, he left for Charleston. On his way he passed through Beaufort, Willmington and Georgetown and, under date of July 28th, he writes:

"I visited the surrounding country and called on a certain few of note, of whom there are not many here. Amongst them I met a Miss N..., who owns the best house here and a large property. She is very agreeable and quite musical. Most unfortunately for her, she tendered her secret favors to a married man and the consequence of this was a son. Either because she has lacked a certain circumspection, or does not wish to hide the boy, he lives with his charming mother, an unjust reminder of her indiscretion!

Georgetown S. C. July 28, 1783

"Herewith a little anecdote of what happened to me here, so that it can be seen that all countries on earth, even the most civilized, have their stupid superstitions:

"I happened to pass Sunday in this place, and as I could not go out as it was pouring with rain, I decided to play a little music to divert myself, and took up my flute; when the innkeeper and his wife, scandalized and bewildered ran to find Mr. Tocker, to get him to intercede with me so that I would stop playing the flute on Sunday; when Mr. Tocker told me of what had passed, I could not help bursting out laughing, but I naturally put down my flute. The family was then tranquilized and I apologised....."

"At 4 o'clock in the afternoon we reached Fort *Moultry* situated south of the last of these islands at the entrance of the Bay of Charlestown: Fort Johnson, which is on the opposite side by the northern end of James island which forms the canal at the entrance, signaled with their flag and after sending a boat to inform the Commander as to

our port of origin and paying one *peso fuerte* (eight shillings) we crossed the beautiful bay and at 5 o'clock tied up at one of the wharves of the city in the midst of a great number of merchant vessels which constantly enter and leave this port. We immediately went ashore and without any one saying a word to us and without any guard or customs officer (because there are not any scoundrels of this kind here) having attempted to examine our baggage or effects, each one of us proceded to look for lodgings. By good fortune I met on disembarking, Mr. Bourdeaux, a merchant of this city whom I knew in New Berne and who was good enough immediately to accompany me in the search of a good inn. On his recommendation I took lodging in the house of Mrs. Stone, N° 13 Trade Street, paying a little more than one peso (60 cents) a day for food and lodging (I remained here) up until the 23rd. of August when in order to find better quarters and in the hope of being able to form a pleasant amorous attachment, I went to No. 80 King Street which was kept by Mrs. Melar and occupied the lodgings which Col. Carrington and Major Edwards had left . . . . . .

Charleston
July 31
1783

"In the midst of these affairs and while I was receiving various persons of note who came to see me the following morning, there arrived the well known Counsellor-at-Law, Major Edward Rutledge wearing a sword and of military aspect, who called me aside and handed me, after a courteous speech, a sealed letter from William Brailsford. I immediately opened it and found it to contain a challenge to a duel, couched nevertheless in rather ambigous terms and appointing as his second, to arrange all preliminaries, the above mentioned Mr. Rutledge.

"To Lieutenant Col. F. de Miranda: "Wishing to forget your illiberal reflections on my country I shall make no mention of them and only demand satisfaction for the pointed insult offered to myself. My friend Mr. Rutledge who is so obliging as to be the bearer of this, will settle every preliminary respecting our meeting and his arrangements will be positive and respected by me. I am, with

due respect, your most obedient servant, William Brailsford" (1).

"These circumstances made it necessary for me to enter into conversation and to speak of the matter with the above mantioned emissary, the consequences of which were that he asked me permission to speak to Mr. Brailsford. who was without doubt in error as to the matter. I was willing to grant this on the understanding that Mr. Brailsford should know definitely that as far as I was concerned, in case he was not satisfied, there would not be lacking on my part any satisfaction which one gentleman should give to another in similar circumstances.... and that I would wait my adversary with sword in hand to satisfy him as was indicated in his letter. In the afternoon he advised me through Mr. Rutledge, by means of a written note, that he had been mistaken and that I had no disrespect for his character. But as the basis of his letter was false and its contents ambigous I sent him a copy of the conversation and the notes exchanged, which Mr. Rutledge wrote out, as I wished to put an end to his importunity.

Charleston
August
1783

"In effect, this appeared to have the desired effect since he never again brought up the matter. Furthermore on the following day we dined together at the house of Mr. Bee and he greeted me with expressions of friendship. In this way was concluded this great knightly encounter and later on I found that there was in his character a great deal of the Don Quijote.

"The principal personages of the country and the officers of the army from the South (to whom I was introduced by the Governor at a large reception which he gave me four days after my arrival), who were here at this time and who came to visit me and to whom I am indebted for their treatment of me are as follows: Gen. *Green;* Gen. *Moultry;* Thos. *Bee;* Intend. *Hutson;* Mr. Chief

(1) It appears from a copy of a letter addressed by Miranda to Mr. Brailsford that he recalled having met the latter who was a British officer, after the capture of the island of Providence and had imprisoned him, acting under the order of his superior officer but had tried to treat him with every consideration.

Justice *Burck;* Col.: *Washington;* Col.: Lewis *Morris;* Col.: *Walton White;* Dr. *Turembul;* Mr. *Penman;* Col.: *Pickney;* Mayr. *Butler;* Mr. *Medliton;* Major *Pearce;* Col.: *Eustace;* Rd. Mr. *Purcel;* Dr. *Ramsay;* Ex-gov. *Mathews;* Collector Genl. *Hall;* Mr. *Jones;* Judge *Heward;* Dr. *De la Howe;* Dr. *Flag;* Mr. *Colleton;* Mr. *Morris* marcht.; Mr. *Banks* id.; Monsr. *La Canterie;* Mr. *Bethune* mart.; Mr. *Ewen* id;; Treasur. *Black;* Mr. *Campbel;* marcht.; Mr. *Smith;* Mr. *Marshal;* Mr. Attorney General *Moultry.*

Charleston, August 1783

"The inhabitants of this region are rich as a general thing and are fond of the country and rural life, and have very good houses on their estates. Hunting, dancing and smoking tobacco in pipes are their favorite diversions. Society is not very animated in the city even though there are certain well informed persons of education... the young men, as a general thing are vain and ignorant, the ladies are more agreeable (although they are somewhat shy when you first talk to them) and they dress with a great deal of taste except that they arrange their hair themselves with considerable negligence. The number of this sex is very great in respect to that of the men, some people say that there are 5 to 1, and the cause which is given is the great number of (Tories) whom the Wigs killed in the late war... in one district there are 1.200 widows alone... whoever wants to find a wife immediately may come to this country where there are women in abundance ... ...

"The principal ladies whom I had the honor to know best during my residence here were Mrs. *Eliot;* Mrs. *Pinckney;* Mrs. *Purcel;* Mrs. *Moultry;* Mrs. *Turembul;* Mrs. *Bee* (known as Queen Bee) ; Mrs. *Ward;* Mrs. *Colleton* (who sings very well in the English style) ; Mrs. *Sawyer* (an agreeable coquette) ; Mrs. *du Bose* (noteworthy for her beauty and majestic figure) ; Mrs. *Stones;* Mrs. *Hall;* Miss *Townsend* (whom I like) ; Miss *P. Turembul;* Miss *Mareshal,* and Miss *Glower* (the two beauties of the moment) ; Mrs. *Bay,* Mrs. *Mareshal,* the Miss *Tibault,* Miss *Eliot,* Mrs. *Butler,* Miss *P. Smith,* Mrs. *Ramsay,* Miss *Magot* (one of the three famous travellers who without the company of

any man went to France, Italy, etc.), Miss *Feneque,* Mrs. *Mathews,* Mrs. *White,* Mrs. *Haleston.*

"The city is quite extensive and has many good houses of bricks and wood which number is estimated at 1.500 even though a great part was destroyed by a fire which occured 3 or 4 years ago... the sea breezes refresh the city and make living conditions in the summer less unsupportable as the heat and diabolic multitude of mosquitoes exceeds all proportion... the streets are straight and wide with brick pavement on both sides for the use of those persons who go on foot... there are no theatres or spectacles and the only place where women are seen in any number is in church on Sunday... the hours for services are 10:30 in the morning and at 4 in the afternoon, at this hour there are many people as the object of the young men and women is not only religious, but because the church takes the place of a public meeting place....."

Charleston
August
1783

Thanks to General Green, Miranda saw of all of the fortifications of Charestown including Forts Moultry and Johnston, and the General's Aide de Camp Major Edwards explained to him the defense of the city against the attack by sea of Admiral Peter Parker's squadron. He also spent some time in the country with Col. Lewis Morris and his family. Miranda mentions as having met and conversed with Mr. Chief Justice Burck, of whose intelligence he formed the highest regard; Dr. Turnbull, known as the "Penn" of Florida; Dr. David Ramsay, author of the famous speech upon the advantages of the Independence of the United States of America, read before the Assembly in Charlestown in 1778; Judge Howard, the member of Congress who gave the decisive vote when the matter of declaring the Independence of the Colonies on July 4, 1776, was being discussed, and General Moultry, whom he considered as a very affable man with good judment and a human disposition.

The administration of justice in the United States was of great interest to him, for he notes in his diary just before leaving the Carolinas:

"During this period, I went many times to the Court

of Justice; I really cannot express my pleasure and satisfaction at seeing the admirable system of the British Constitution in practice—Great Heavens! what a contrast to the Spanish system of Government!"

After spending the months of August, September and October—1783—in Charlestown and its vicinity, Miranda bade farewell to his many friends and set sail for Philadelphia in the Brigantine "James"—Capt. Darrell. The mouth of Delaware River was reached on November 20th, after a most unpleasantly stormy passing of the Capes.

CHAPTER II

PHILADELPHIA AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. MIRANDA MEETS GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

Delaware River. Pennsylvania, Nov. 22 1783

"Six miles up the river on the Jersey shore is a small place called Gloucester, and two miles farther up is Philadelphia, where we arrived at 10 a. m. and tied up to the wharf among a great many ships of all nations which come to his free and beautiful city, where there is a great deal of commercial movement. We immediately disembarked, without having to pass through the Customs examination. The ladies and Mr. Nealson went their way, and Mr. Marcorrell, Mr. Focke and I to the inn called "The Indian Queen"", kept by Mr. Thompson in Fourth Street, where I took a room, paying a peso fuerte (eight shillings) a day for meals and lodging (without liquors). I certainly must confess that nowhere have I seen more perfect cleanliness which makes this Inn the best that I have known.

"The city is without question the largest and most beautiful in all this Continent; its streets are straight and intercepted at right angles, their width is in general fifty feet and Market Street is one hundred feet wide; the streets have brick pavements on their sides for pedestians

—for which reason coaches and carriages are of little use—; in front of the houses, lining the pavement, are wooden pumps, which are of the greatest use and furnish a clean supply of necessary water to all the inhabitants. . . . . .

The houses are comfortable and clean and in good taste, although somewhat small; in general they have gardens and their construction is as plain and simple as the dress and customs of the first inhabitants of the city. . . . In truth, the cleanliness, regularity and the width of the streets, their illumination at night, and the vigilance of the watch men stationed at each corner, to keep order, as well as the Police of the city, make Philadelphia one of the most agreeable and best governed cities of the world . . . . . .

"Among the things of interest which are to be seen here is the Peale collection, which consists of one hundred portraits of considerable merit painted by this artist, of the most important personages and of members of the patrician families as well as of foreigners who have contributed their share in the American revolution; these works are not only interesting and pleasing to the cultivated and curious traveler but they also give a sidelight on American history—and add in forming ideas of virtue and patriotism among the youth of the Nation, to whom is herewith presented the most worthy monument which can be erected to the whole people! Certainly it makes an example to be followed by other nations, which appreciate virtue and good taste . . . . . Philadelphia November 1783

"A short time after my arrival, I went to call on our Envoy or Agent, Don Francisco Rendón, to whom I brought a letter of introduction from General Cagigal. He received me with great politeness and hospitality, offering me his house, his table and assistance in the most cordial manner. I did accept the first and moved to his house where I lived all the time I was in Philadelphia. He is a very sociable person, who on account of his residence of four or five years in this city has made the acquaintance of almost everybody here; and for this reason (together with a great number of letters of introduction which my

friends in Charleston were kind enough to give me), in a very few days, I was introduced to and received invitations and favors from the principal people here. Out of gratitude to them I set down their names: Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress; Robert Morris, Secretary of the Treasury and Nary; John Dickinson, Esq., President of the State; Le Chevalier Ceasar Anne de Luzernne, Minister of the Court of France; William Moore, Esq., Ex-President of the State; John Penn, Ex-Governor of the Province and a direct descendant of its founders; Joseph Read, Esq., Ex-President of the State; General Washington, General Saint Clair, General Anthony Wayne; Dr. Benjamín Rush, David Rittenhouse, Secretary of the State and astronomer of note; Coronel Charles Petit; George Mead, Esq., Jacob Read and J. Beresford, members of Congress for Charleston; James Wilson, Jacob Jarvis, Thomas Hutchings, Esq., Geographer General of the United States and a man of great capacity in this line; Mr. Coxe, Mr. Rose, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hill, Mr. Powell, Mr. Holker, Dr. Vankroff, James Benezet, author of a small work on the doctrins and religion of the Quakers; very well written; Mr. Chew, Dr. Shevet, celebrated anatomist who has various anatomical Studies in his office which were modeled by him in clay and which show a great knowledge and ability in his art; P. S. du Ponceau, Esq., Interpreter of foreign languages for the Nation; he is a young man of intellectaul disposition who has an extensive knowledge of modern languages which he speaks with great facility and a good accent; Major Moore, John Vauhan, Mons. Barriére, one of the few French men whom I have met in this Continent, who is capable of understanding, in the midst of his own preoccupations the advantage of a free government compared with despotism, and who is a great republican; Mons. Sarsnau, Secretary of Rendón; Don Joaquín de Quintana, the companion of Valois in Havana, who came here from England and lost his ship on the shore of Monmounth, in Jersey, togther with the cargo and a part of the crew (and also a lovely Quaker girl of eighteen who was coming from England and who because no one helped her to reach the deck of

Philadelphia
November
1783

the ship, where Quintana and those who were saved had taken refuge, was drowned in her state-room); Quintana is one of the few of my countrymen who has penetrated the marvelous secrets of the British Constitution and should be a good Secretary; but I can never pardon him the loss of the unfortunate Quaker girl! Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the most brilliant mind on this place but who appears to me to have more ostentation, audacity and pretentions than real value; Chief Justice Thomas McKean, Judge of the Supreme Court, a man of considerable knowledge of his profession but a strong character with but little kindness of heart; Chief Justice Smith of Jersey, a man of open heart and considerable inteligence who paints pictures and plays on the piano... William Hamilton, a very amiable person of pleasing manners who is very generous and has very good taste; General Fred A. Muhlemberg, member of the Board of Censors and a person of note in the country, of German origin as well as many others in this country, who are the descendants of poor Dutch and German colonists; Baron de Steuben, Ex-Inspector General of the American Army, etc.

Philadelphia November 1783

"The ladies whom I had the pleasure of meeting were the following: Mrs. *R. Morris,* generally known as *Queen Morris,* on account of her vain, haughty and somewhat affected character; an obscure origin and a lack of the fundamentals of a proper education place this refined person in quite an unfortunate situation. *Mrs. Powell,* the rival of *Mrs. Morris* for first position at all Socieal functions since she has many diverse qualities; she comes of a very well known family and has had a very good education, which she has improved greatly due to a noteworthy application as well as intellect; and if it were not for her magisterial manner and pedantic affectation, which make conversation with her difficult, she would be one of the most pleasing and agreable persons, with whom one could wish to talk. *Mrs. Penn,* who causes a deal of jealousy in the hearts of the two above-mentioned ladies! since she is a person of very apparent calm, who has considerable instruction and affable manners, these qualities together

with the fact she is the wife of the "big wig" (*gran casiquc*) of the place, always bring her the principal attention in Society, not without notable mortification on the part of the other two ladies mentioned! *Mrs. Jas. Allen,* a smart and atractive person; quite frank, openminded and good looking; these qualities together with not a little coquetry make up the character of this agreable widow. *Miss Polly Vining,* of a very marked instruction, keen intelligence and a fluent and refined manner of conversing, which make her company and conversation very agreable and causes her to be much sought after by foreigners and men of taste; a mixture of the bizarre and willfulness in her actions, produces on many occasions an almost incompatible contrast with her singular knowledge and her common sense. *Miss Peggy Chew,* an atractive and pleasing girl. *Miss Sally Shippen,* whose bright mind, excellent education, distinguished manner and good humor, which makes her always gay, make her most extraordinarly attractive; also her noble, sensible, frark and generous heart with her little bit of coquetry form the most agreable combination which I have ever known! (1). *Miss Moore,* a smart looking person second rate! who has some knowledge of French and Italian and speaks them moderatly well, she is amusing and often agreable. *Mrs. Moore,* (who was M. J.) very good looking and who was born in the West Indies. *Mrs. Crook,* the same. *Mrs. Coxe, Miss Molly Coxe,* both good looking. *Miss Molly Shippen,* aimable. *The Misses Bond* and *Miss Sitgreves* and *Miss Miller,* four persons belonging to the number of Graces of Philadelphia, although with out extraordinary merit. *Miss Hicke,* celebrated for her affair with *La Case. Miss Jane* and *Margaret Marshall,* most pleasant. *Miss Susane* and *Rebecca Morris,* two young Quakers, sisters-in-law of General

Philadelphia
December
1783

(1) It appears that Miranda made a mistake when referring to the first names of the Misses Chew and Shippen, for he certainly means Miss Sally Chew and Miss Peggy Shippen as he refers several times in his Diary in later periods to Mrs. Benedict Arnold, (who was Peggy Shippen), and who he mentions as having been an old friend.

Mifflin; their instruction, good humor and simple manners and dress, are most certainly very pleasing and give a more favorable idea of the Quaker system that do the writings of Fox, Barclay, Whitehead, etc.; they have favored me greatly with their friendship and society. *Miss Isabela Marshall,* another Quaker maiden, nice looking and well educated, speaks French fairly well.

Mrs. Lawrence, the mother of Mrs. James Allen, a matron of majestic bearing and extremaly fine looking. *Mrs. Shippen,* the sister of the above, a woman of very good judgement, most agreable and with a excellent heart. *Mrs. Rush,* nice looking and sensible. *Mrs. Vauhan* and the *Misses Vauhan,* her daughters; this family has just come from England and is one of the most prominent in this City, they are distinguished very particularly for their instruction and elegance. *Mrs. Rutledge,* and *Miss Rutledge,* wife and daughter of the famous Governor *J. Rutledge* of Charlestown; the first is a woman who deserves the greatest respect and has good judgement; the young girl is well brought up and is moderatly good looking. *Mrs. Allen. Mrs. Moore,* the wife of the Major. *Miss Jones,* a bit of a pedant and presumes on it! *Miss Footman,* a nice girl and most pleasant...

"Here I wish to make several reflections upon certain persons, who appear to me to have a particular position; *Robert Morris,* the Secretary of the Treasury, etc. seem to me to be, without doubt, the most capable and best prepared official, whom the Government of the United States has had during the late troubles, in any department of the Government. However, it is said that the extraordinary assistance given him by *Gouverneur Morris,* have contribued principally to his success .....

Philadelphia December 1783

"*The Chevalier de la Luzerne,* Minister of the Court of Paris of striking appearance, generosity and agreable address, but weak and without ability for his post-from this it results that M. de Marbois, lately appointed Consul-General of his Country, is the mentor who directs everything; neither his talents nor his ability, I believe to be remarkable in any way; much less in politics; even though

his own presumption, daring and ignorance persuade him to the contrary. When our Agent, *Miralles,* died, he tried, being cock-sure of himself, to have Spain appoint him to this position... and when there were rumors of the late Peace and the Independence of America was believed to be certain, he wrote a letter to the French Foreign Office, persuading it that it would be very opportune if the New Foundland fisheries were not given to the Americans and that if the war could continue for some time more, in order that the Americans should be well exhausted, so they would better remember the benefits that they owed to France. The letter was intercepted and publicly read in Congress (even though under oath that no one of the Members should mention the matter out side under two years) and so it is seen how in one day M. de Marbois, did more harm to the interests of his Country than his services could do good in a hundred years! ... ...

"But to return to the City; it is to be observed that no theatres or Reception Halls have yet been constructed since this sort of diverson is not admitted in the Quaker system; which sect is the predominant in this part of the Country, even though every Religion and Sect is tolerated, Quakers, Anabaptists, Church of England, Methodists, (their manner of singing the psalms is very pleasing) Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, Catholics, Reformists, etc.

Philadelphia December 1783

"..... The principal Church of the Quakers or Meeting House (there are four or six in the city) is in Market Street, near the City Hall, its architecture is exceedingly devoid of taste and without decoration... I attended one of their meetings, one evening; it commenced at six and terminated at eight; all of the congregation was seated on benches with their hats on and with their heads inclined in the greatest silence; then my neighbor to my left stood up and said in an emphatic tone to the others, *"my spirit says that God shall not always tread upon earth! because he is in heaven!"* after this another of the principal preachers (I gathered that my neighbor was only a beginner) took for his text a proverb which

says: *"think twice and lead once",* and gave us a sermon of an hour and a half... I must confess, however, that I thought it strange that people, noteworthy for their religiousness, judgement and cleanliness should take so little care of the archicture, decoration and arrangement of their Churches" .....

"The diversions of the City are reduced to a Ball or an Assembly, as it is called, held every fifteen days in the *City Tavern,* in quite a long but narrow room; the expenses are met by a subscription taken up at the beginning of winter, and the management is entrusted to the hands of four persons elected by the subscribers, who direct all with order and decency; ladies and foreigners, who come to the city, receive their card of invitation and are admitted without charge; but not the inhabitants of the town, since, if they are not subscribers, they are thought not to wish to take part, and no invitation is sent to them; the dancing commences at seven o'clock and lasts until two or three in the morning; those who do not wish to dance, play cards at tables arranged in adjoining rooms; between eleven and twelve, all of the members go up stairs to the second floor, where tea, coffee and chocolate and biscuits and toast are served at separate tables; supper over, dancing is continued, which goes on as long as any one desires to dance and everyone comes or goes, plays cards or dances, talks or keeps quiet at will .....

"The Minister of France gives Balls frequently and is the only person who has an appropriate ball room; since, due to the celebration which he gave two years ago at the time of the birth of the Dauphin, he had built in his garden adjoining his house a room built of wood... which will hold three to four hundred persons ..... Philadelphia December 1783

"Our *Rendón* also gives Balls in the winter, even though not so frequently. They are not so brilliant on account of the fact that the ball room is much smaller even though his house is the best and largest house in Philadelphia.....

".....*Mrs. R. Morris* and *Mrs. James Allen,* also give their parties at night, which are for dancing and

card playing, they are called *"private parties"* and are very agreable: the guests are carefully chosen and are well known people and consequently there is a great deal if intimacy and satisfaction!... In *Mrs. Allen's* parties a certain freedom is to be noted and her hospitality, which her distinction inspires is most evident as well as the kindly manner in which she receives in her house, truly makes a marked difference between her and all of the other hostesses.

"Mrs. John Penn, has a private concert in her house once a week, the best musicians who are in the city take part; the drawing room is small, which of necessity means a small orchestra and a few guests. These are all of the amusements which they had in Philadelphia during the time of my residence there ... ...

"However, certain foreigners complain that the people here are shy and not very hospitable; I, for my part, have only observed a certain reserve and bashfulness, when you first know them (particularly on the part of the ladies) which is characteristic of the American system and perhaps has it origin in that they are not accustomed from their early years to be with older persons in general and later they are not accostomed to appear much in public, in contrast to this, the variety in manners and customs broadens our ideas and forms in us a freer, franker and more social bearing towards others ... ...

Philadelphia December 1783

"Among the men of letters there are to be noted; *Mr. Rittenhouse,* whose experiments in Astronomy and in Orrery's machine, have made him famous; *Dr. Rush,* Professor of Physics in the College of this City; *President Dickinsen,* author of the newspaper entitled *"The Philadelphia Farmer"; Rev. Dr. Smith,* Director of Princeton College in Jersey; *John Armstrong, Jr.,* author of two papers addresed to the American Army concerning half pay and commutation, worthy of Junius; *Mr. Gouverneur Morris,* the *Rev. Dr. White,* the best preacher there is in the pulpit; *Du Ponceau,* who was aide-de-camp to Baron Steuben and Secretary in the Office of Foreign Affairs etc.... The men are almost always immersed in their

acreedor igualmente al aprecio, y estu-
-macion de V.E.; què celebrarè infinito.

Soy constante admirador de las
heroicas virtudes de V.E., y por lo tan-
-to tendrè siempre singular satisfac-
-cion en servirle, y que me mande qu
-anto fuese de su maior agrado.

Nuestro Señor guarde su àpre-
-ciable vida muchos años, y conserve
sus gloriosos Hechos à la inmortalidad.

Duplicado. Havana 26. de Mayo de 1783.

B.L.M. a V.E. de mi
atento, y Seguro Servidor
Alan Alan or Cagigal
Fern.l Sen.l

Exmo. Sor. dn. Jorge Washington.

Last page of a letter of introduction to General George Washington, given by General Cagigal to Miranda, in 1783 at Havana. The original is in the diary of Miranda - Vol. V. "Viajes". This copy appears in the "Archivo del General Miranda" - Caracas 1930.

affairs and in political intrigue, which prevails more here than in any other part of this America, which is sown and cultivated with care by France.

"On the (8) of December General Washington entered Philadelphia, en route to attend Congress, which had been called to meet in Annapolis, in order to resign his command with all ceremony, having already taken over New York and disbanded his army, etc.

"He entered the city at mid-day with the French Minister and his two Aides-de-Camp, Col. Humphrys and Col. Benj. Walker, who came with him from New York, President Dickinson, Mr. R. Morris, and certain other American officers who were at this time in Philadelphia, and a company of mounted militia which had gone out four to six miles to receive him. Children, men and women showed the same pleasure and satisfaction as if the *"Redemer"* had entered Jerusalem! Such is the general impression and sublime position which this fortunate and singular man has been able to create in the whole Continent. Although there are certain philosophical persons who regard him in the light of reason and have formed a more just idea of him than that which the highest and lowest of the general public have in their minds-and it is certainly a very peculiar thing, that of the many distinguished persons in America who by their wisdom and talent have brought about the great and complicated work of the Independence, no one enjoys the general applause or the popularity which this Leader does, or to put it in another way, no one enjoys them except he, himself. And in the same manner as the rays of the Sun, which are reflected through a burning glass, are concentrated in a focus and produce such an extraordinary effect in Physics: here in this way the result produced by the actions and deeds of so many persons in America, are reflected from its Independence and concentrated as in one point, in Washington... usurpation as capricious as it unjust. On the following day I went to see him accompanied by Rendón and presented him a letter of introduction which I brought from General Cagigal; in consequence, I am indebted to him

Philadelphia December 1783

for considerable attention and had the pleausure of dining in his company all the time he was in Philadelphia on this occasion; his bearing is circumspect, taciturn and but little expressive, even though a suave manner and great reserve make dealing with him supportable . . . I never saw him except with this aspect, nevertheless when the bottle was passed with joviality and humour after dinner and when he had drunk a certain number of *toasts* he stood up and gave his three cheers like the rest of us. Under these conditions it is not easy to form a definite opinion as to his character and here we will suspend judgement for the present until changes or passage of time make it possible to form a more careful opinion."...

Philadelphia December 1783

In December so much snow had fallen in the streets of the city that only Sleighs were used and in order to try this new means of locomotion, Miranda decided to visit his friend Miss Polly Vining, who had gone to spend Christmas in Wilmington, Delaware, with her mother and brother. Here he spent several days; and together with some American officers and a British captain of engineers, visited the battle field of the Brandywine.

After his return from Wilmington, he resolved to continue his journey to New York and says that one of the reasons for his desire to leave Philadelphia was that he had had certain discussions with the Minister of France and particularly with the "ridiculous" Marvois, which resulted in their starting certain intrigues against him; although he was able to explain matters satisfactorily to the Spanish Minister Rendón. After saying good bye to all his friends he left Philadelphia on January 16th in a stage coach or rather "coach on runners", and travelled to New York via Trenton and Princetown, where he says "there is a well run college for the education of young men, the advantages of which are well known throughout this part of the Continent". He continued his travels via Brunswick and Elisabeth Town and arrived in New York on January 17th where he took lodging at a private inn kept by Mrs. Mary Turner in Water Street.

CHAPTER III

NEW YORK CITY AND TRAVELS THROUGH CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND

In New York Miranda presented his numerous letters of introduction from his Southern and Philadelphia friends and met, within a short time after his arrival, a number of persons of importance including Governor Clinton, Mr. Chacellor Livingstone, Mr. Duane, Mayor of New York, General S. Schuyler, Col. Alexander Hamilton, Lieutenant-Col. Smith, Major Fish, Mr. Pierpont, General Morris, Mr. Rutherford Rivington, Parson Moore, Mr. Stevens, etc.

Don Francisco was immediately accepted into New York Society of that time as is witnessed by the numerous visiting cards left on him and the many invitations to dinners and balls, all of which are carefully pasted into his diary.

It was during the three months that he spent in New York, before and after his trip up the Hudson river, when he visited West Point and later Albany and also certain of the battle fields including Saratoga—that he became on the most friendly terms with Alexander Hamilton and General Knox. The latter gave him very cordial letters of introduction for his family and friends in Boston all of which are dated, April 28th, 1784. It was during this time also that Miranda became acquainted with Lieutenant Col. W. S. Smith, who was to be so closely associated with him in Europe and later in his first attempt at freeing Venezuela from Spanish rule. It was probably Col. Smith who procured for him an invitation to that very smart function "The New York Dancing Assembly", which invitation he carefully kept. The Comittee in whose name the invitation is issued, was composed of the following well known Newyorkers: Brigadier General Wills, Col. Smith,

Col. Fish, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Stephan Sayre, Mr. Wickam, Mr. Verplank, and Mr. Livingston.

It was at this time in New York that he formed a very warm friendship with Miss Eliza Livington, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Livingston, of No. 3 Hannover Square, with whom he carried on a lengthy correspondence until she married. And in Volume 18, "Revolution Francaise—Correspondance de Femmes" he has preserved a great number of Miss Livingston's letters to him, which show that she was most sincerily attached to him if not deeply in love, and it is interesting to try to forecast what might have been the turn of events in the emancipation of South America had Miranda married a North American and stayed in the United States. Apparently he was urged on by his great Ideal, and seems to have steeled his heart against any lasting attachment of a matrimonial nature and to have confined himself to fleeting passions for the various "Nymphs" to whom he continualy referred in his diary, as having crossed his path. Late in July he left New York and continued his journey through the northern states to Boston, which he had so much desired to visit, he says:

Diary
New York
to
New Haven
Conn.
July 24-25
1784

"At half past twelve we set sail in the sloop "Friendship", Captain Braddle, for New Heaven, Connecticut, (twelve passengers in all) and at two o'clock we came to anchor in New Town Creek, a distance of about three miles from New York, as the wind and tide were against us. We went ashore and took a walk until five o'clock when we returned on board. At nine o'clock at night the weather was quite tempestuous but we weighed anchor again at half past twelve, the wind having changed to south west, and at one o'clock we passed Hellgate, the "Charybdis" of this Sound (Long Island) and continued sailing, and at eight o'clock in the morning we were fifty miles from New York. The weather continued good and with the greatest ease we reached New Heaven at three p. m.

"We immediately disembarked and found all the streets deserted as every one was in church, and in company with Mr. Austin, I took lodging at the cofee-house of Mistress

Smith. Af five o'clock I went to hear a celebrated preacher from Boston, Mr. Murray, whose belief is "Universal Salvation". The congregation was extremely large, and his manner of speaking simple and agreable".

"After church I went to call on the President of the College (Yale), the Revd. Dr. Stiles, to whom I brought a letter of introduction but he was out and I took tea with his family (his wife and four or five daughters) and at nine came back to my lodging where I passed the rest of the evening reading the admirable history of Philip the Second by Watson".

"The weather was rainy so I stayed there all the morning reading about the Duke of Alba and his wicked Sovereign Philip the Second. In the afternoon President Stiles came to visit me, and I went out with him to visit the College, whose regulations and rules can be seen in the annexed pamphlet (1). With the tutors or rather Proffesors Russell and Meggs I visited the Class in algebra and optics, where I observed that these sciences were explained in a simple manner to the scholars, and from here I went to the Class in Hebrew which Class the President himself teaches and where he appears to be somewhat pedantic. At the end of the class, I went to the chapel to hear prayers which lasted half an hour, and afterwards to the tutor's rooms where I had a glass of wine and talked about the affairs of the College until ten o'clock when I returned to my inn".

New Heaven, July 25th, 1784

"The next morning I walked about the city a little and called on Mr. Shipman whom I knew in New York; in the afternoon I visited the house of the President and

(1) Pasted on a page in the diary is a pamphlet entitled "The Laws of Yale College—New Heaven, Conecticut—Enacted by the President and Fellows", printed at New Heaven by Thomas and Sam. Green, MDCCLXXIV, and the Catalogue of the graduates of Yale, printed in Latin by the same publishers, and dated as of MDCCII to MDCCLXXVIII.

looked over his collections which contain many curiosities. (1).

"I spent this morning in writing in my diary and took a walk through the city with Mr. Shipman and Captain Wooster (son of the famous American general) and went to see the house where General Arnold lived during the long time he spent in this city (it was confiscated and sold when he deserted). We then went to the City Hall which is quite large and built in good taste. I dined with Captain Wooster, Major Wailles, Mr. Char: Chauncey (a famous lawyer), General Parson, etc., at Captain Wooster's house; and after dinner we went to the College as the Professors wished to take me to hear the debates, which the students hold on various matters to accustom them to speak in public and to improve their manner of expression (2). From here I went to see the City Archives and to examine the famous laws known under the name of "Blue Laws". They are composed of three volumes in manuscript commencing with the first act of the Assembly, in 1639, which was to decree the foundation of the City. After this, various decisions of the High Court appear in which a husband who kissed his wife on Sunday was punished with a fine and lashes; another was punished for having drunk the health of his friends on Sunday; another was punished in the same manner for gambling, others for playing and romping with young girls, and another for having too many suppers and too much company at his house, etc., such was the fanaticism and manner of thinking of the people of a century and half ago".

New Heaven, July 29th, 1784

"We then went to take tea with Miss Arnold, a sister of the above mentioned general, who has lived in this city

(1) President Stiles in his diary refers to the visit of Miranda to New Heaven and says that "he talked with him at considerable length about his past life and impressed him as being very well up on the politics and history of South America and as having strong ideas as to the liberty of peoples".

(2) Miranda states that "at that time there were 260 students in Yale" and that the College had a library of about 3.000 volumes. He spent several days in all in New Heaven.

for some time and is respected by all. Her brother sends her funds from England for her support. She is a woman about forty years of age, pleasant and agreable, with a considerable amount of education . . . . . ."

On July 30th Miranda left New Heaven and travelled by post-chaise to Hartford and Springfield and to New London, via Windsor, Withersfield and Middleton, of which place he says "for its situation it is one of the most agreable towns which may be imagined and for this reason the best in my opinion of all which I have seen in this State. It has very good houses and a fair size population as may be seen from the attached memorandum which was given to me by General Parson, who is a preson of veracity and information".

During August Miranda visited the Gardiner family on Shelter Island where he spent several days and then took a sailing vessel from Sagg Harbor for Newport where he arrived on August 29th.

His diary continues:

Newport R. I. August 30th, 1784

"Before six a. m. I went ashore to look for an inn and having seen that of Mrs. Almy and others, which I found were full of persons from the South (particularly from Charleston) who were suffering from malarial fever and had come to the North for their health, I took lodgings at the inn of Robert Lillibridge which is on the Common, near the City Hall, where I paid for my room and meals four *pesos fuertes*—how cheap—and three and a half *pesos fuertes* for my servant—what a disproportion! . . .

"After lunch I went out to leave certain letters of introduction which I brought from New York. My first visit was to Mr. Christopher Champlain, Esq. and Miss Peggy Champlain, his daughter (one of the beauties of the place) to whom I brought a letter from the Sears family. They received me with great hospitality and attention, and after a little while I went out with Mr. Champlain to call on Miss Nancy Hunter (another of the graces of Newport) who with her mother received me with hospitality and told me that Miss Peggy Hunter (who is the famous beauty of Rhode Island) who was then indisposed had

offered to come down stairs to see me the following day. I thanked them as their kindness deserved and took leave returning to the inn to dine.

"In the afternoon I paid a visit to Mrs. Green, who lives at an end of the city in the part which is called "The Point", for whom I had brought letters from her husband who is in South Carolina. She received me most amiably and we afterwards took tea, and I stayed there until eight o'clock. She seems to be one of the frankest and most amusing woman whom I have seen in this country. I afterwards returned to my inn where I spent the evening writing to my friends in New York".

"Yesterday there was a "mob" or a disturbance here on account of there having entered into the port in the afternoon, the British frigate "The Mercury", Captain Stanhope (who was one of the prisoners who were in Havana), which war vessel had on board a sailor who was born and lived in Boston and who the English captain had taken on board and obliged to serve after the evacuation of New York. The said captain has his wife in this city and came ashore as soon as the frigate anchored but the "mob" surrounded the house where he was, demanding the man who was on board in such a manner that he had to give his word of honor that he would be given up the following day. The tumult then ceased and this morning the man was put ashore. The Court examined him and said that the imprisonment which he had suffered on board was unjust and gave him his liberty... The climate here is so pure and healthy that, the malaria from which I had been suffering and which I had contracted during the time I was at Sagg Harbor, the moment I put my foot on this Island, commenced to be better and the fever, which I had daily, has not returned".

Newport
R. I.
August
1784

"The British and French armies (so the inhabitants informed me) who were here during the war, not only recuperated their health but did not leave any one in hospital when they embarked. For this reason this Island justly deserves the title which has been given to it of the "Paradise of New England". Its fields would be equally

beautiful and pleasant, as they are cultivated, if they did not lack their adornments of trees and woods which the armies entirely destroyed during the war and which gives an air of aridity to all the pastures and fields in cultivation such as one sees in the Province of La Mancha in Castilla".

"I spent this morning writing to my friends in New York. Afterwards, went to call on Miss P. Hunter, who, in accordance with her promise, came down stairs to see me and I had the pleasure of making her a long visit. She asked me to tea in the afternoon, an invitation which I gladly accepted.

At three p. m. I went to dine at the house of Mr. Champlain, who had invited me on the preceeding day had a pleasant and sociable meal, with his wife, daughter, mother and two young children, (the food was very delicate, tho' somewhat frugal, forsooth!) "I remained until five p. m. when we went to obtain a sight of the city and bay from the top of the "steeple" or tower of the English Church, which is quite high and commands a very wonderful view, but the horizon was so overcast that we had to leave our observations for a better occasion. We went to see the interior of the Church... quite beautiful and spacious and containing a good organ.

Newport
R. I.
August
1784

"At six, I went to take tea with the Misses Hunter, in whose agreeable company I stayed until eight o'clock, speaking French and discussing somewhat as to literature, but too little as to form any judgement as yet.. (as to their proficiency!)

"From here I went in search of Dr. Newman, to whom I had a note of introduction: I found him at home and we had a glass of "grogue", I then handed him my letter and he offered to introduce me in the proper quarter: he made me a present of a booklet of his cures and discoveries and we went out to take a walk, which led to the Temple of one of the most attractive Nymphs of this place where he left me, well recommended; he took his departure and we proceeded to the Altar, where a solemn sacrifice to Venus was consumated. At ten o'clock I returned to my Inn and read until bedtime.

"As the morning was somewhat overcast and rainy, I stayed at home reading until ten a. m., when I took a walk to the south side of the town, where I looked at the cattle and sheep grazing in the pastures near by where there is good grass; certainly their size is superior to any others which I have seen in this Continent: this is attributed to the quality of the pastures on this Island, which are richer than in any other place; if an ox or a sheep is brought here from Connecticut it is instantly noted that they commence to grow and become fat; ... ..."

Newport
R. I.
Sept. 2
1784

On September the eight. Don Francisco left Newport and his various friends and proceeded by sailing ship to Providence.

After a week in Providence, which city he says had some five thousand inhabitants at that time, and many churches, Miranda took the stage coach for Boston and after a day's journey, reached his destination. He put up at the private Inn kept by Mrs. Scott in Scott Court, paying seven pesos (about fourteen dollars) a week for himself and three pesos for his servant.

CHAPTER IV

MIRANDA VISITS BOSTON. AN INSIGHT INTO ITS SOCIAL LIFE AND HIS COMENTS ON NEW ENGLAND CUSTOMS.

"Having left my trunks in Providence in the care of Mr. Clark, so that they should be sent to me the following day in a cart, they did not arrive and I had to wait five days for them. I was also careless enough to have left my letters of introduction in my luggage and so had to remain incognito for all of this time... but while I was waiting I read History of New England by Hutchinson, which although it is heavy and without any style, is full of many authentic documents and much information.

Boston, Sept. 1784

"When my boxes arrived (and the customs let them pass with only my word that they did not contain any merchandise) I proceeded to present my letters of introduction, which were many as my friends in New York had, indeed, been most kind in furnishing me with a goodly number. I had letters to *Governor Hancock, Joseph Barrel, Esq. Samuel Brick, Timothy Dalton, Christopher Gore, General Henry Jackson, Joseph Russell, Doctor Lloyd, Benjamin Guild, John Lowell, James Swann, Thomas Russell, Dr. Aaron Dexter, Dr. Benj. Waterhouse, Dr. Smith, The Reverend Joseph Willard, President at Cambridge College, Miss Ruth Dalton, Mrs. General Knox, Miss Rooksby Coffin,* etc., who all received me most cordially.

"I went to dine with Mr. John Livingston, who greeted me as a friend and after dinner we walked to Beacon Hill, which is the highest point of land in all of the penninsular, upon which Boston is built and which commands an exceedingly extensive and pleasant view of the bay and the surrounding country. After our walk we took tea at Mr. Livingston's house, where I finally decided to spend the night.

"The next morning I took a walk about the water front with my friend General Knox. In truth from the number of wharves, it may be clearly seen just what an extensive commerce this port really has. Amongst the most important of these wharves are, Farnhum's—Parson's —the Governor's—and above all Long Wharf, whose length and breadth is superb and exceeds all other works of this kind on this Continent ... ...

"From the wharves we proceeded to visit the City Hall or State House, situated at the top of State Street, which is a brick building with out any particular charm, but large enough for the purpose for which it was constructed; although not large enough to hold both branches of the actual Legislature, which meets there.

"In the Senate Chamber there are some bad portraits of the the important personages who founded the Colony (clergymen for the most part) and at the end of the room there is an engraving of the exploits of Tell in Switzerland, when the Governor obliged him to shoot the apple off the head of his son—and from which incident there resulted the Revolution, which gave those fortunate people their Liberty—and the idea must be most gratifying to the people of this Country as it should be to the whole World... Here there is no more cleanliness or decoration than what is usually seen in Europe in a good Army barracks!

Boston, Sept. 1784

"The Assembly Chamber which is larger and in conformity to the aforesaid style, has wooden benches for the use of the Representatives. In the centre of the room is a wood carving of a *"Cod Fish"* of natural size but in bad taste, hung from the ceiling by a chain, this idea is an imitation of the Wool sack in the English Parliament. The end of the Chamber is seperated by rows of Doric columns made of wood, which forms a hall, where persons who have business to transact or idlers walk up and down.

"From here we went to the Court House in Court Street, also a brick building but much better constructed than the former although the lower part is lugubrious and dark. The best building, however, is King's Chapel and although the exterior is not as yet finished, the interior

is well proportioned and decorated with taste and understanding, in the Corinthian style; this church and Trinity Church are those in which the congregations belonging to the "Church of England" meet, (the most distinguished of all in the City) .....

"In the afternoon, Mr. Breck, who is most friendly, came for me in his carriage and we went to Cambridge to dine at the house of Mrs. Tracy, where we had been invited and where we found a large group of ladies and Republican gentlemen, etc.; and I was presented to them all in due form (a tiresome ceremony, forsooth) and after dinner back to Boston some seven miles across the isthmus they call the "Neck". The evening was spent in pleasant company at Mr. Breck's house.

"The names of the principal Ladies whom I have met and talked to up to the present are as follows:

"Mrs. *Handcock,* Mrs. *Hayley,* (sister of the famous *J. Wilkes* of England, very aimable) Mrs. *Bowdoin,* Mrs. *Knox,* Mrs. *Brimmer,* Mrs. *Swan* (ostentatious and without any education), *Mrs.* and Miss *Lloyd,* Mrs. *Babcock,* Mrs. *Bulfinch* (a vain and ridiculous woman) Mrs. *Breck,* Mrs. *Hichborn* (famous for having married her present husband after he had accidentally killed his predecessor with a pistol in his own house; and it appears that he was paying court to the lady at the moment—not to say that she was his *Mistress*), Mrs. *Morton* (who has read a little and for that reason is self satisfied), Mrs. *Barrell,* Mrs. *Sheaffe,* Mrs. *Livingston,* Mrs. *Waldo,* Mrs. *Apthorp,* Mrs. *Deblois,* Mrs. *Cushing,* Mrs. *Prince,* Mrs. *Warren* (widow of the General who died gloriously on Bunker's Hill), Mrs. *Greene,* Mrs. *Andrews,* Mrs. *Stillman,* Mrs. *Cooper,* Mrs. *Sargeant,* Mrs. *Hall,* Mrs. *Appleton,* Mrs. *Bradford,* Mrs. *Oliver,* Mrs. *Williams,* Mrs. *Dalton,* Mrs. *Pitts,* Mrs. *Otis,* Mrs. *Paine,* Mrs. *Gore,* Mrs. *Newell,* Mrs. *Tudor,* Mrs. *Head,* Mrs. *Powell,* Mrs. *Phillips,* Mrs. *Hill,* Mrs. *Blanchard,* Mrs. *Prentiss,* Mrs. *Adams,* Mrs. *Gould,* Mrs. *Winslow,* Miss *B. Deblois,* Miss *Temple* (both of whom are considered the beauties of the moment), Miss Lloyd, Miss Hall, the Misses Sheaffe, (good looking) Miss *Appleton,* Miss *Warren,* (beautiful)

Miss *Stillman,* Miss *Waldo,* Miss *Greenleaf,* Miss *Amory,* Miss *Dalton* (the stoutest creature I have ever seen for one of her age), Miss *Pain,* Miss *Storer,* Miss *R. Coffin,* Miss *Watson,* Miss *Winslow,* etc... Miss *Adams,* Miss *Polly Scott;* etc...

"The ladies here have but little education and their diversions are reduced to small parties where there is hardly any social life. The married people have their Club, which meets every Saturday, when six or eight families come together to dine (sometimes as much as seven miles from the city) and after dining they all go back home!

"The unmarried girls have their tea parties among the themselves, and here is their only school for styles, manners and elegance, with the result that they are extremely deficient in all; and have a fancy for themselves which I have never seen equalled!

Boston, Sept. 1784

"In the winter there is a badly managed Dancing Assembly (the ball room even though it is a little small is constructed with taste and its decoration are distinguished), where the older and younger men dance badly as a general thing (1).

"As regards society, the men are not much better off; they have a club which meets on Monday night, where they play cards and have a cold supper from seven to ten, which is all that they have been able to invent as far as society goes: in a word, *Society* is as yet not known!...

"Luxury and ostentation and a certain amount of vanity are the predominant characteristics of those who have become rich in a short time. A youth, who ten years ago, wore silk stockings, satin small clothes, and powdered hair, did not need more to ruin his character for ever; today they wear all of these clothes and even when they wear boots and ride horse back they use silk stockings and silk

(1) It is of particular note that not a single officer of the American Army has been invited to join the list of subscribers, with the result that no one of them can attend; this shows the jealousy of the merchant class and the ingratitude of the people in general!

breeches etc. Consequently the ladies wear silk, ribbons, gauzes, and use pomades and perfumes every day (1). Therefore, as none of these articles are manufactured in the country and as it is necessary to pay for all abroad, ruin is inevitable; and if we consider that this country can only pay its debts with pot-ash, pitch and cod fish, we cannot be surprised when we were told by a merchant that all of the capital which exists to day in this city can hardly pay half of its actual debts to Europe (to England principally); if this has taken place in so short a time, what will happen in twenty years from now?... Commerce will always be the principal ruination of Democratic virtue... so this is simplicity and equality of peoples!

"While here I had the pleasure to know the famous Republican, one of the principal figures of the past revolution, Mr. Samuel Adams; a very talented man with a profound knowledge of Legislation. We had various conversations in regard to the Constitution of the Republic and with respect to the two objections which I raised in this connection; and he stated that he agreed with me after he had carefully considered the points which I brought up:

"The first was that in a Democracy whose very basis was "virtue" should not a proper place be given to this quality? Particularly as the exact contrary was the case and all distinction and power is given to Property; which is really the poison in a Republic such as this;

"The other was the contradiction which I had observed between admitting as one of the rights of Humanity, the worship of the Supreme Being in any manner or form as may be wished, without giving special privileges to any one sect and excluding from any legislative or representative position, any person who does not profess the Christian religion! serious solecisms, without doubt!

(1) On a par with this are the schools of the French Dance and in such numbers that even the negroes have theirs where they come from seven miles. There is not a mechanic who does not send his daughters to them with the desire that they become proficient in this important branch of democratic-american education, paying 4 or 5 pesos per month.

"He also gave me various, interesting information on the origin, principles and occurences of the late Revolution and favored me with his friendship.

"James Bowdoin, Esq. President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, ex-President of the Constitutional Convention of the State, is a person of great knowledge and experience in experimental Physics, he has a certain erudition and good judgement and an agreeable manner and I owe him my particular thanks for his friendship and esteem and for the very interesting data which he gave me in regard to the real origin and happenings during the last disturbances.

"Mrs. Macualey Graham, the celebrated author of the history of England, I got to know particularly well and although her bearing is far from agreable, I found her company interesting and amusing... ... ...

"General Knox, who from a simple book seller went into the militia and from there to the highest ranks of
Boston, Oct. 1784 the American Army, is one of the best informed military men, in theory and in practice of war, of any of the military chiefs I have met in this Continent, including the *Idol* (Washington). His bearing is quite agreeable and his conversation interesting ... ...

"Along all the roads and in the outskirts of Boston are to be seen the fortifications, constructed by the British and Americans at the time of the seige of this city. There are also a number of places from which one may obtain an excellent view of the surrounding country and which are suitable for building country houses... Milton Hill and Dorchester Point are noteworthy...

"Herewith an anecdote: last Sunday morning I went out to take a ride in a chaise towards the fort which is a little further on than Dorchester Point, and as it was necessary to cross a small *ferry,* I started to call the boat, but they did not wish to send it to me as it was *Sunday.* Very patiently I retracted my steps along the same road which is quite good and came to a place, where the low-land was covered by a foot of water as it was high tide: quite a decent looking man came up at this moment, on

horseback, with a woman on the pillon and immediately approached me and asked me if I would take his wife across in my chaise as she was afraid; I assented, and she then jumped from the horse and got in my chaise and I took her some two miles further on, where she asked me to let her get out and she then waited in a house for her husband, who was coming along on horseback at a certain distance behind us; who in Europe would have so favorably judged a human heart, that he would have entrusted to a perfect stranger his young and good looking wife? and who (in Europe) would have been so small minded to believe it a mortal sin to cross a river on Sunday?...

"On various occasions I attended the meeting of the general Assembly of the Legislative body of the State, where I was able to see in a most marked manner the defects and inconveniences to which this Democracy is subjected, through placing the legislative power in the hands of entirely ignorant persons; in the midst of a debate, which he did not understand, one of the members recited verses from memory; another, when this one had finished, spoke for two hours and finally asked what was the motion before the house, so that he could vote on it; for the most part all were like this. To such an extent, that the most absurd and unjust matters are debated, proposed and approved in these Democratic Assemblies all over this Continent; and if we consider that all the influence is given by the Constitution to owners of property, consequently the principal members do not have to be the best prepared, neither among the Senators or the Members of the Assembly (as we have seen) are there lacking persons devoid of principles or education; one was a tailor four years ago (B-K) another was an Innkeeper (M-n), another a porter (B-n), another a blacksmith, etc., etc. ... ...

Boston, Oct. 1784

"The Marquis de Lafayette, arrived here at this time and I had occasion to meet him; he seemed to me to be a mediocre character, having the activity and perpetual motion of a Frenchman. He was accompanied by his Aide-de-Camp, a young Frenchman, the Chevalier de Caraman, who is completely lacking in knowledge; the Captain of the

Frigate, "La Nimphe", which was sent to this port to take him (the Marquis) to France, is called the Chevalier de Grandchamp and appears to be a man of judement and education.

"This visit of the Marquis seem to me to be one of those moves, by which France wishes to bewilder the the human race and on many occasions they have succeeded, but to the eyes of those who see clearly they are but ridiculous political farces; these people here are very simple and as yet inexpert in politics and they have been moved to excessive and absurd demonstrations (even in small towns, like Marblehead) so that the *Hero,* in order to receive hommage, has gone from one place to another with the rapidity of a *Rolland!* . . . . . .

Boston, Oct. 1784

"One day, Dr. Waterhouse and I made plans to visit the University of Cambridge; we set out at eight o'clock in the morning and crossed Charlestown ferry in ten minutes, and taking a chaise on the other side we proceeded on our literary journey towards Cambridge, which was nearly four miles away. We passed by Bunker's Hill where we could do no less than stop and with the assistance of an American officer, who had been in the battle and the information which I had already acquired, we proceeded to examine this important military affair. The battle took place not at the place which we have mentioned, which is generally believed to be the site of the encounter, but on another hill, closer to the landing place at Charlestown, called Breed's Hill. This is the place which the Americans started to fortify when the batteries on Cop's Hill commenced to fire on them and the British troops disembarqued to attack them. The situation of this position is quite accessible from all sides and is not extraordinarly advantageous and it may be inferred from this that the effect produced was principally due to *surprise,* that is to say that the British troops having the advantage in numbers and discipline, marched on the enemy, believing that they would immediately take to flight; but on the contrary they allowed the British to approach and when they were close, raked them with carefully aimed musket fire and broke

the British formation and put them into confusion (which is the effect of such a surprise); the same troops after re-forming renewed the attack immediately and captured the position with the bayonette; the Americans retired as best they could over the narrow isthmus, which forms a small peninsular, upon which Bunker's Hill is located and the Army or better said the American troops, which had advanced to this place, protected their retreat, fighting the enemy as they advanced: . . . . . .

"Later we proceeded to Cambridge, where in company with various professors (the President was not at home) we visited the College; we saw the dormitories inhabited by the professors and by the students, which are comfortable but without any decoration or taste. The Library is fairly well organized and is clean; it has some 12.000 volumes, in English for the most part, but not badly selected. The natural History Museum, scarcely deserves the name, as it contains but few exhibits and these badly shown; among the exhibits is a Mammoth's tooth from one of those extraordinary carnivorous annimals, which were found here, bigger than elephants and which we do not know, according to the London Society, which studied the bones found in various parts of this Continent and sent to England for this purpose.

"Afterwards we went to the Hall of Philosophy, as is is called which is a well proportioned and spacious room, adorned with the portraits of the principal benefactors of the College (also) certain engravings by Copley (a native of this city)... The key to the Philosophical apparatus not being able to be found and the dinner hour of the students approaching, we went to the refectory where we ate rather frugally; a piece of salt pork, potatoes, cabbage and a little cheese and butter composed the meal and a little cider, the beverage. We finished our meal hurriedly, as is the custom among students; and I went back to Boston with the Doctor, my companion . . . . . Boston, Oct. 1784

"Again, the next week, we went back to see those things which we had missed seeing, visiting in company with Profesor Williams (a man of science and instruction)

the philosophical apparatus, which is without doubt very good and sufficiently complete for all needs; nevertheless, they lack an observatory, for which reason the astronomical instruments are scattered about in one place or another.

Boston, Oct. 1784

"Afterwards we went to the roof of the building from where a lovely view is obtained and then, having nothing further to see we passed to the house of the President, who had asked us to dine and in truth we had dinner in his worthy company: I made them a present of a silver medal, made in Mexico by Gil, on the occasion of the establishment of the Academy of Private and Public Law, and they were much pleased. I then went home with my companion.

"It appears to me that this institution is better calculated to turn out clergymen than able and well informed citizens... it is an extraordinary thing that there is not one Chair of modern languages and that Theology is the principal subject in this College. The manner of dressing, of comporting oneself and behaving in Society are matters to which not the slightest attention is paid and therefore the appearence of the students is the most ill favored of any students of this kind which I have seen. The President is dry, gloomy and of an unbearable circumspection! ... ... "

Miranda left Boston the middle of October on a trip to New England and travelled by stage coach—paying as he says five pesos as far as Portsmouth.

He stopped at Salem, at Newberryport and at Portsmouth and from there visited Hampton Falls and then retraced his steps by easy stages, reaching Boston the latter part of November.

He took with him various letters of introduction among which were those to Joshua Wentworth, Col. Langdon and Mr. Sheaf at Portsmouth and found them kindly disposed towards him and hospitable. He was much struck by the amount of shipping at the ports visited and became interested in the whaling industry and the new construction of whaling vessels invented by a Mr. Peck. He found it surprising how the people of that region could support so

many months of intensive cold and was astonished at their fortitude and says, "it must be added that the cold is continous for nine months of the year and the people have to keep fires burning in their houses constantly. With what disadvantages these poor inhabitants have to deal and what obstacles are conquered by their indefatigable industry".

On his return to Boston he took leave of his many friends and on November 29th. paid the sum of twenty two guineas for a passage to London in the sailing ship "Neptune", according to the receipt which is pasted in his diary.

Be it not understood from the excerpts from the Diary, which have been chosen here and which tend to show rather the human and social side of the man, that Miranda simply passed his months in North America in amusing himself. There are a great number of pamphlets, booklets, clippings from newspapers and long hand notes on a great variety of subjects, particularly with reference to the new American Constitution and to the workings of the newly formed Republican government, carefully preserved in his bound volumes of the diary. Some of these bear most interesting notes in his own hand and show that he took advantage of his opportunities to give careful study to democratic form of government.

It seems evident from a study of his own records of this time, that Miranda's plan for obtaining the independence of Venezuela and that of the other Spanish Colonies, was only in its inception and that his ideas were by no means crystalized. His meetings and discussions with such a number of American statesmen, Generals and other officers of the Revolutionary Army served, however, as a basis for his first calculations. This will be seen from the following notes taken from Volume I of his "Negotiations", headed "1.784. Boston" and which bears a foot note in his own hand, reading as follows:

"Boston, 23th. Nov. 1784.

"In any popular proyect the above number of men could be raised in New England in the course of three months".

"Papers relative to North America.

"Kn. estimate.

of the supposed expenses of raising, clothing, and arming *five thousand men,* fully officered and divided into proportions of infantry, cavalry and artillery, a train of field artillery and all other necessaries for immediate operation. Provisions and ammunition for one year.

"Bounty

5.000 men to be enlisted to serve five years on the bounty of fifty dollars a man		$ 250.000

"Pay

5.000 men of the different corps of infantry, cavalry and artillery averaged at eight dollars per month	$ 40.000	
200 regimental officers for the above men, the pay of whom may be averaged each at sixty dollars p. month	" 12.000	
The general staff	" 4.000	
Monthly	$ 56.000	
Yearly	" 12	" 672.000

"Subsistance

6.000 rations per day to be delivered at the point of consumption at one third of a dollar, each ration including a jill of rum per day	$ 2.000	
Annually	" 365	" 730.000
		$ 1.652.000

"Clothing

5.000 suits of cloths including every necessary species at twenty dollars each ... ...$	100.000

"Arms

5.000 muskets and bayonets with their scabards complete at ten dollars each ... ..."	50.000

"Artillery

50 field cannon and howitzers of different calibres with spare carriages, travelling forges, field laboratory and every necessary apparatus complete ... ..."	400.000
500 rounds of fixed ammunition for each cannon, the same for the musketry, and ample quantity of unfixed materials for contingencies ... ..."	400.000

"Hospital

Establishment and annual expense of an hospital department ... ..."	20.000

"The Master Generals Department

Artificers, tools, camp equipage, waggons, pack saddles, bridles, and everything necessary to move the corps of 5.000 men through any description of country practicable for an army, also mountings for five hundred cavalry horses included ... ..."	600.000
Forrage ... ..."	300.000

"Transport Service

Supposing the troops and stores to be transported at once, and no transports retained in pay.."	500.000
Contigencies ... ..."	1.000.000
	$ 4.622.000

Note of Mr. Hamilton

General Washington, Major General Green !, General Knox !, General St. Clair, General M. Dougall, Marqués Lafayette, Mayor General Baron de Steuben !, Colonel Olney !, Major Dexter, Colonel Huntington, Colonel Fish !, Colonel Ogden, Colonel Forbes !, Colonel Walter Butler, Colonel Harmar !, Major Edwards, General Du Portail !, General Wayne, General Williams, Colonel Dearborn !, Colonel Brook !, Colonel Putnam !, Colonel Hull, Colonel Lee !, Colonel Washington, Colonel Pinkence, Colonel Laurens !, Colonel Burr, Colonel Harrison, Secretary to the Commander in Chief !, Colonel Gouvion ¡, Colonel Fleury (!)".

It is of interest to note that the heading "Kn. Estimate", must certainly mean General Knox, for we know that he and Miranda had been together on various occasions during the latter's stay in New England. Also in a copy of a letter written in French, which appears in the above mentioned Volume, dated London, October 19, 1789, and addressed to Knox, he states as follows (translation) "At last it seems that everything is working out so that our projects of the year 1784 will be accomplished... I hope that you will keep to your promise and that soon I will have the honor of passing by your own home for you!"

The other paper entitled "Note of Mr. Hamilton" must certainly be a list of officers recommended to Miranda by Alexander Hamilton in New York.

His great Ideal was in its inception. He had seen the rewards gained by the struggle for Independence. He had seen the benefits derived from Democracy; he had also seen its defects. That he had only spoken as a private individual to persons of note in North America is clear from an exchange of letters, between himself and James Monroe. That his was still a spirit groping for light and help cannot be denied; but that he had, at this time, decided

(!) Marca de excelencia.

to go against King and Country is certainly is not the case. His mind would certainly first turn to some plan for self governing dominions, and if that formula could not be obtained from the King of Spain, he would see! It was in this state of mind that our Venezuelan embarked for England.

PART III

THE TRAVELS OF "DON JUAN" IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA (1) 1785-1789.

CHAPTER I

BOSTON TO LONDON, ENGLAND - 1785.

Miranda's Diary Translation Boston to London Dec. 15th

"At four thirty p. m. we finally set sail in the merchant frigate "Neptune" of 250 tons., Captain John Calahan, and at 6 came to anchor near the Fort which they say is about 3 miles distant. The passengers who are aboard are the following: Levi Willard, John Reynolds, George Harrop, John Garniss, Herman Goverts, John Derrit, Samuel Dashwood, Nicholas Gilman, All quite agreable persons and of good manners. On account of the fact that this vessel carried a quantity of gold coin-acccording to the figures given, some 60.000 guineas—the Bank suspended its loans and quite a panic resulted, as will be seen from the two enclosed papers—"The Sentinel" No. 25, and the following notice which was put in various parts of the city,—"It is sincerely wished that the Tory Ship commanded by that noted smuggler Captain Calahan, would sail inmediately

(1) It has been said that Miranda met Lord Byron in London in the early part of the nineteenth century and gave him a graphic description of his adventures, and that Byron used some of his stories as material for his "Don Juan".

as no business either at the Bank or anywhere else (of any consequence) will be transacted until *she is gone* for fear of cash being sent off"—A poor reason in truth!"

A six weeks voyage, in which storms and danger from shipwreck were not lacking to vary the monotony, broughts the "Neptune" to London Dock, and Miranda notes his arrival as follows:

"The day broke clear and calm and about eleven thirty we hoisted sail; we observed in various places along the river bank a number of gallows with the bodies of the Pirates who had been hung thereon; as we passed by, we also noted the situation of the villages in which are the arsenals of the Royal Navy, Woolwich, Blackwall, Greenwich, Deptford (where the Greenland Dock is) and anchored at 6 p. m. at Stone Stairs, two miles from London. I presume that at the above mentioned Arsenals there are no less than sixty ships of the Line and frigates in the water and twelve three deckers in the dry Dock; what innumerable ships and stores! I am positively certain that in this river alone there are more ships and more commerce than in all the other rivers of the world together! . . . . . "

London, February 1, 1785

"At ten a. m. I disembarked and taking a Hackney coach, traversed almost all of this Capital, until I reached Pall-Mall where I took lodgings at the Royal Hotel—All of my luggage remained on board, for the reason that as I had nothing but my clothes and books, it did not seem fair to me to offer more than half a guinea to those rogues of (customs) guards who were on board the ship, and they in the end, asked me to give them more, which made me angry; however, I regretted it, as it cost me a lot of difficulties and I lost a lot of trifles".

The months passed in London from February until he set out in August on his European travels, with his old acquaintance Colonel William Smith, the son-in-law of John Adams, and now Secretary of the American Legation in London, were spent by Miranda in seeing and learning as much of English life and customs as he was able. Also in making the acquaintance of the various Englishmen to

whom he had letters from friends and compatriots in the West Indies and in the United States.

It was during these months that he drew up and presented through the Spanish Minister in London a long letter to the King of Spain, explaining his reasons for leaving the Spanish service in Cuba.

After giving a lengthy statement as to his various difficulties in the Spanish army, he terminated the letter as follows:

"I humbly beg Your Majesty to allow me to resign my commision and the rank, which I enjoy in the Army as a Royal favor: I place the foregoing at Your Majesty's feet and tender at the same time my formal resignation. My only desire is that Your Majesty be aware that I have always proceeded correctly and with the highest motives in order to serve and to bring glory to Your Majesty, in all matters confided to my care; I also wish to inform Your Majesty that neither the jealousy, persecutions or the threats of my superior officers or of the Ministers (of State), have been able to turn me aside from my righteous intentions or to pervert my mind to wrongful sentiments. I would also be most grateful to Your Majesty if I could be reimbursed in the sum of eight thousand pesos fuertes, which my commission as a Captain cost me, when I entered the Army, in order to assist me at this time when I have suffered serious losses".

As Miranda was one of the first South Americans of culture and intellectual attainments who had come to London, well recommended, he, at once, became a person of interest and the collection of visiting cards kept by him among his papers, shows that he succeded in making for himself a large group of acquaintances and friends among officers of the army and men well known in political and social life.

It was through his personality and great charm that he made himself welcome in the rather intimate London society of that day. He had conversations with various men of note, such as Lord Howe and Lord Sidney, in which he took advantage of the moment to express in some gen-

eral way his views in regard to the future of Spanish America, along the same lines, although probably much more in reserve, then he had spoken to Alexander Hamilton and to General Knox in New York and in Boston.

"The Political Herald", in May, 1785, mentioned him as follows: "We have received the report that there is in London at this moment, a Spanish-American of great importance, who enjoys the confidence of his compatriots and who aspires to be the liberator of his country. As the friends of liberty which we are, we abstain from entering more fully into details with respect to this interesting person—We admire his talents, we esteem his virtues, and we cordially wish that the project, the most noble which may occupy the mind of any mortal, whoever he may be, will prosper; that project of giving to thousands of his fellowmen the benefits of liberty".

Miranda came to find himself completely at home in his new enviroment and soon the charm of London and its life engulfed him. He went racing—a program of the New Market First Spring Meeting attests to this—and he was also able to satisfy his love of music at the grand musical Festival at Westminster Hall.

Whatever may have been his private discusions he did not at this time approach the British Government with any direct request for assistance in carrying out any plans for the liberation of the Colonies and even if he were not sincere in all of his statements to his Spanish Majesty, he continued to be on friendly terms with the various Spanish Diplomatic officers with whom he came in contact and was not adverse to receiving attentions at their hands.

His various activities are concisely summed up in a short page and a half in his Diary:

"Note - (in English) - "when I have revised, corrected and added what may appear wanting to the journal, I have promised to send Colonel Smith a fair copy-(s) Miranda-London, March 17th, 1791".

"After having passed the winter in this Capital, where I arrived on February 1st of this year (I took lodgings in Pall-Mall N° 104, at P. Rayson, *in the 2nd floor*, paying

1½ guineas per week during all this time) in occupying myself in admiring the wealth, culture and magnificence of this country and above all the Debates in Parliament, which is really a wonderful School of Politics and of Legislation for any man interested in them. I laid my matters before the Spanish Court, through the medium of the Minister here, Don Bernardo del Campo, who received me and has continued to treat me most aimably; and I obtained an early and satisfactory reply from the Minister of State, Conde de Florida Blanca; having this in hand, I feel a certain repose and a desire to continue may travels, which was the thing I most desired (1).

London, August 9th, 1785

"During this time, my friend Colonel Smith, whom I had known in New York, arrived at this Court as the Secretary of the Embassy of the United States of America, with John Adams, Minister Plenipotenciary, with rank of Envoy Extraordinary of that country.

"Amongst other excursions which we made together (Colonel Smith and I) was one when we went one evening to Vaux-hall.

"On this occasion I made mention of the fact that I would like very much to have a companion with whom I could go to Prussia to see the reviews which Frederick the Great was preparing to hold with his armies. Col. Smith was delighted at this idea and said that if I could arrange matters he would be glad to accompany me".

"I set to work the following day and arranged that my friend Mr. Turnbull, give me a draft for 22 £. on Mr. Hope, of Amsterdam—that Don Bernardo del Campo give me a letter of introduction for the Minister of His Catholic Majesty at Berlin—that my good friend, Mr. James Penman (in Bedford Street—Covent Garden No. 20) keep all may papers in his possession, and that the Vice-consul of Spain, Don Mathieu de Gandazequi, take care of my clothes and

(1) "See the letter which I wrote to the King of Spain, addressed to H. M. through Count Florida Blanca—This representation contains a historial statement of my life and occupations up to this period: the notes and documents, which are annexed as proofs, are curious and interesting",

pay certain small bills, from the tailor, shoemaker, etc. — As to all of this I advised my friend Col. Smith at his lodgings in Leister Square No. 14, that I would be ready to leave the following day—My friend Penman sent me a letter of introduction from Col. Ennis for Col. Abercomby, who should also be present at these manouvres with Lord Cornwallis, etc."

"All being arranged as I have said, I dined at Smith's house in Leister Square and at about 6 p. m. we started off in (*una silla de posta inglesa*)—an English post-chaise for Harwich—An excellent road and fields well cultivated with garden and agricultural products, which were a delight to the eye. We only stopped to sup at a very clean inn and at about 4 a. m. reached Harwich (72 miles from London). We arranged with the *Bureau* (booking office) to put our chaise on board (with certain amount of difficulties) and we went on board with the Captain of the packet at 3 p. m., inmediately setting sail... The food and beds were good... among the passengers was the eldest son of the Duke of Portland, the Marquis of Litchfield, a young man of 20, who was going to the Hague for his studies... At 2 p. m. of the following day we reached Helveot Sluys. Here we dissembarked our post-chaise and proceeded on our journey".

London, August. 1785

CHAPTER II

COL. SMITH AND MIRANDA ATTEND THE MANOUVRES OF FREDERICK THE GREAT AT BERLIN AND AT POTSDAM. (SMITH'S DIARY).

Miranda and Col. Smith travelled through Holland to The Hague and Amsterdam, which place they left on August 16th and continued on their journey in their post-chaise, changing horses at every stage. They passed through Arnheim—crossed the Rhine—travelled the extent of the

Dutchy of Cleves and after passing through Minden and Hannover reached Brunswich on the 24th. Here they spent two days and were well received at the Grand Ducal Court, from here they continued on to Berlin and Potsdam.

Inmediately following the Diary of Miranda dated London 1785 there appears in the same volume a lengthy journal written in English, which although unsigned was certainly kept by Col. Smith, who must have given a copy of it to Miranda to keep for both of them. Certain excerpts from this diary, particularly the part referring to the Manouvres of Frederick The Great, which were the principal object of Miranda's and Smith's travels at that time, are of considerable interest.

"Attended the parade, which was commanded by an old veteran officer—the troops assemble out of the town and are exercised by the officer of the day—they move elegantly in line—from this rode to the field, about four miles, where the artillery exercise for the review — remained until twelve — much entertained — attend at four by appointment — took coffee and returned — went to the theatre a number of British officers in the box—General Musgrave.

Berlin
Sept 5
1785

"6th.—Wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Adams—wax-work—dined with the corps diplomatique, by the invitation of the Spanish (Mr. Assanza) resident—met with two gentlemen who spoke English—passed an agreeable afternoon, and put ourselves under the direction of our valet de place, who amused us for an hour well—formed an acquaintance this day with Mr. Carrara an Italian and with the Abbé Gruber —attendant on Count Reviski, Minister from the Emperor, who goes to London.

"On the 7th. spent the morning in the field with the Gendarmes... and Hussars, two regiments of cavalry of ten companies, each fifty men—manoeuvres very elegant—every officer and soldier—seem to understand this duty perfectly—the full charge in line they perform to admiration—a number of British officers appeared on the field, amongst the rest was Lord Cornwallis, General Musgrave and Colonel Fox these three I knew in America—(I had introduced Lord Cornwallis to General Washington)—was

on a very sociable footing with General Musgrave, when Commandent of the city of New York and I resided there as commissioner superintending the evacuation of the place, to see that the articles of peace were fully complied-with, I observed them notice me at a distance but no advance was made — I know so much of the British character as always to meet them upon the haughtiest—ground and when they find you are stationed it is ten to one that they make the advance and become very civil—I took my position and entrenched myself and the morning passed in mutual attention to the manoeuvres.

"We, returned, dressed and went into the country to dine by invitation with Mr. David Splitgerber, an eminent merchant of this place, to whom I brought letters of introduction and credit from Van Staphorst and Co. of Amsterdam—we found a large company of the first mercantile character assembled with about eight or ten ladies—dinner was soon served up—each one took his place and proceeded to satisfy his appetite as if he was beginning a day's work: the food is cut up and sent round by a servant, and each one helps himself—bottles of wine and water are fixed on the table and you help yourself and drink when you choose—without troubling any body with the least mark of attention—in this dull and solemn manner each dish is passed — the company rise in about an hour or better—the gentlmen smoaked and sleeped, and the ladies strolled in the garden—there were three British-officers present-neither of us knew the master of the house—there was a shameful inattention to strangers prevailed thro' the whole—they seemed to be sociable amongst themselves, but not the least of it to us—we were not presented to a single person, not even the lady of the house; immediately after dinner we took our departure, with no favourable idea of the politeness and civility of the Prussian mercantile character —in the military-line great gentility prevails-in the evening had my profile taken, strolled in the promenade and supped with the friends".

Berlin Sept. 7 1785

"On the 8th. breakfasted at six—went to the field—attended the manoeuvres of 4.000 under General Moelendorf

the governor of this place — the troops are superior to panegiric—they marched in platoons from the town to their ground—on the word, the line was formed with the greatest perfection — they advanced in line — advanced by platoon firing, then by regiment, and finally, on a supposition of being pressed by cavalry, they gave ground, retiring in eight detached lines of 500, each, in such a manner as to perfectly cover each other—each line when it faced and marched had the flanks led by a platoon in file, and when the line halted and faced these flank-platoons faced outward and presented three sides of a square when a retiring line had to pass another they advanced from the left of platoons in file abreast and the left files of the covering division doubled and formed—they parade three deep-front rank comes down — formed small columns in rear which gave the exact vacancy for the retiring troops to pass—the files closed the rear, and the platoon or division made ready inmediately—the whole was performed in a most masterly manner.

Berlin
Sept. 8
1785

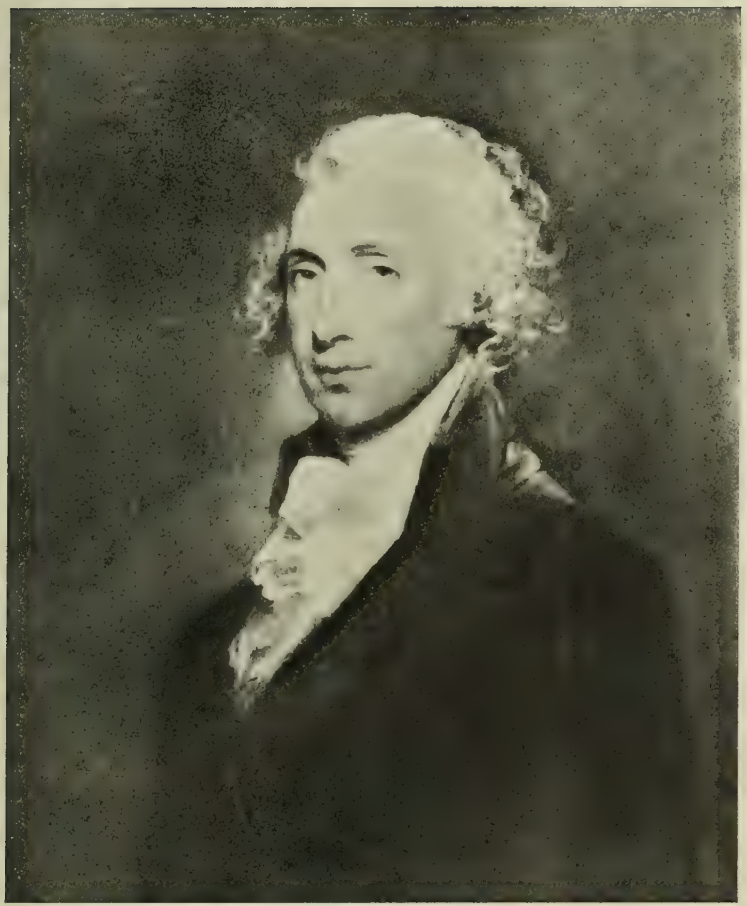
"This general is esteemed by the king as one of his first officers — they have often commanded in manoeuvres against each other with various success — during the exercise, I left the crowd and went to a comanding position alone, where I had a full view of the whole field—I soon observed the British corps to advance to the same station led by Lord Cornwallis and General Musgrave —I kept my ground the hill was small, and I had occupied the pinnacle agreable to yesterday's arrangement — they came up and passed on each side very close—I was too much engaged with the troops to notice them—in a few minutes Lord Cornwallis came up — saluted me and apologized for passing, observing that not expecting to have the pleasure of seeing me there and the plainess of my dress he did not at first recollect me—hoped I had been well, etc. — General Musgrave and Colonel Fox followed this example and Colonel Abercrombie was introduced to me by General Musgrave--and they all were very polite thro' the day, etc., breakfasted with the Literati and spent two hours with them—dined at home, and at four were introd-

uced to the academy of Sciences by the Abby de Nina and the Masters (...) in their rooms is a good Library and an elegant bust of Voltaire—the countenance is pleasant and penetrating—passed an hour an a half with great pleasure in the practice of Alemande and French ... ... "

"Attended the Gendarmes and hussards of Zeten commanded by Frederick the Great—the latter being divided skirmished with great address—met General Duportail on the field—saluted with sociability—he was adorned with the croix of St. Louis and the order of Cincinnati—the abbé Grueber dined with us—and we spent the afternoon in visiting several noted characters — we found the famous Beauchin in his gardens ( ) there is an independence in his manner and sentiments which is seldom met with in this country, etc., professed himself a friend to liberty—from this we passed half an hour with Mr. an old gentleman of great vivacity, noted for his ability in embroidering—he shewed us two pieces for fire—screens of extraordinary merit — these men tho' of superior talents can scarcely procure a living tho' they have small pensions from the king—this tends to verify Voltaire's observation who says that Frederick is ambitious of having the first artists in his dominion but as cheap as possible—Miranda went to the gardens, etc., etc., — I had also my resource for the evening ... ... " Berlin Sept. 9 1785

"Mounted at five—rode to the review of the artillery—got to the ground before the king—General Musgrave very politely came forward, met me and introduced colonel Sims —the artillery amounting to 9.000 men were paraded with side-arms only—the king came on attended by a few of his officers — the Duke of York, etc., etc., he was well mounted in full uniform—after reviewing each regiment with great attention—they marched to their stations..., visited by Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Fox—after dinner the abbé Gruber accompanied us to see the historical paintings of Mr. H... which have great merit and must be very productlve—from this we visited a Jew-philosopher (Mosses Mendelssohn) and author—he is an old antedilu- Berlin Sept. 10 1785

vian figure—very deformed—*Miranda soon took up his text and preached liberty and independence with as much zeal as ever the king of Jews established his religious system* —the Israelite contended and insisted that it was ideal and foolish, &, &, we rode to the gardens—left Miranda to pursue an engagement and the abbé and myself strolled in the promenade, and to my room, where we remained until one on general and interesting subjects—the Duke of Osnaburgh, with the British officers who are here amuse themselves with cricket—he is a handsome young man, with one or two soft lines in his countenance descriptive of his sire —and at the review he seemed more attentive to the figure and agility of his horse than to the movements of the troops ... ...



Portrait of Colonel William S. Smith, Secretary of the American Legation at London, in 1785, the son-in-law of John Adams, and friend and travelling companion of Miranda. This portrait appears in the "Archivo del General Miranda" - Vol. VI. and was taken from the copy published in Robertson's "Life of Miranda", Chapel Hill N. C.-1929.

General Mullendorf commanded about 10.000 men with great address ... ... " (1).

It is with great satisfaction I observe the Literati, and men noted for their liberality of sentiment, anxious about the situation of America, whose success in the completion of the virtuous establishment of civil-liberty, which they have so nobly commenced, they appear to have much at heart; and listened with pleasure when facts were stated and the real situation of our government and country explained in contradiction to the numerous paragraphs which the mistaken policy of the British-ministry press thro' Europe with surprising assiduity-an extract from a London-paper, reprinted in Berlin, the last week placed America in the most distressing point of view possible and absolutely asserted that anarchy and confusion reigned thro' the whole of our political system, and that in consequence of the establishment of our independence, America had become a most distressing scene of carnage and desolation ... ... " Potsdam Sept. 19 1785

"The Marquis Lafayette accompanied by Colonel Guvion arrived, and the Marquis with great friendship called on me immediately — spent three hours alone with me giving me a detail of his tour thro' Silesia and his visit to the Imperial Court; with the prime-minister of which he had some conversation relative to the establishment of a commercial treaty with America, which as a citizen of the world and a friend to America he advised, tho' as a Frenchman he said it was a supposable case that it was not to be wished—he then asked me why I did not wear the order of the Cincinnati, and observed it would have a singular appearance in the eyes of the king and the officers in Europe, the principal characters of which were here to see him, General Du Portail and Colonel Guvion appearing with it, and I as an American-officer without it, and very pointedly requested me to wear it—

(1) Note of Miranda.—Un buen soldado que nos sirvió de guía en la otra ocasión (Yrlandes de nacion) y vino a nosotros aun, me informó con sentimiento, que los oficiales Ingleses nos llamaban los rebeldes... you go by the name of rebels.

I observed to him it gave me great pain that he should make a request, that I even should feel a reluctance in complying with, but in this case he must excuse me, for if I complied with his request, my own mind would constantly upbraid me, by deviating from that consistent line of character which it was my ambition to support, and which I had flattered myself I had hitherto preserved—that I did not wear it in America. I had never worn it in England, and should be ashamed of myself to make use of it here to give me importance for a moment, for I observed those things were much respected, but I did not come to be seen and attended to, but I came to mark the military establishments of Europe and to see if I could acquire some knowledge in that line ... ... "

Potsdam Sept. 23 1785

"Mounted at six — attended the manoeuvres which finished at ten—the two armies met on a plain—General Mulendorf, when the hussars began their skirmish, detached his jagers and a batallion of grenadiers with two sixes to occupy a small wood and hill on his extreme right at too great hazard, but the prince quietly submitted to it—the prince then threw his force to the right and pressed the enemy's left with great vigour, and after firing in this position, the manoeuvre finished ... unfortunately the King on the night of the 20th. was seized with a fit of the gout and was not able to attend the troops, but so loath is he to part with command that he made arrangements for the manoeuvres in his chamber, and assigned every officer his station and business—he says the spirit deserves a better body — some times when age hinders his speed he says "Spirit can't you make this carcase move a little faster—march, you old beggar, march ... ... "

The travellers left Potsdam on September 24th and arrived in Dresden on the 29th, spent a week there and continued on to Bohemia, arriving at Prague on October 9th.

"Met General Duportail with his orders on the bridge —dined at home, had music and went to the theatre, it is large, a very commodious pit, 94 rows of boxes, it is the neatest I ever was in, the platform wants ornaments

otherwise it would be complete—a rural dance at the conclusion of the entertaiment was well arranged—went to a brothel but its appearance was so vulgar I retired Miranda stayed.

"Miranda announced his rising with a noise, quarelled with his bread and butter and cooled at his leisure—visited the library established by the Jesuits but now called the Imperial library—it is well arranged in elegant apartments and contains 100.000 volumes—here is a celestial globe which by clock-work answers exactly the revolutions in the heavens—here is a very elegant electrical apparatus, designed and constructed by Mr. Unger, Superintendent of this College—we were attended by Mr. Bartoletti librarian with much civility ... ... "

Prague Oct. 10 1785

From Prague Smith and Miranda continued on to Vienna.

"Visited the palace of the Prince of Auresberg, where is great elegance and taste with simplicity—in every apartment there appears some arrangement for intrigue, false closets, trap-doors and sham stoves sufficient to contain one or two persons—the Turkish saloon is very elegant—here is a most delicate soft picture of Katarin Princess of Russia taken by De Lampi an Italian-the orangerie is very neat—in the centre is the temple of Flora, thro' which you pass to a neat manege—at the extremity of the orangerie is a grotto dropping with water oozing thro' the roof... ... ...

"After the play went to the Marquis de Noailles the French embassador, where a large party of the court ladies and gentlemen were assembled—some handsome—all brilliant—one sweet girl spoiled the appearance of her delicate hands by loading her fingers with large diamond rings—she had seven or six fingers covered—I was some what apprehensive, when she raised her hand from the table, that the bones would break with the weight—General Duportail the only gentleman with whom I was acquainted, and who pressed me to go (I suppose not seeing the order of the Cincinnati in my coat) soon took a seat at the card-table, tho' but a little before he gave me to under-

Vienna Oct. 18 1785

stand never played—here were six British-officers they soon made a party of whist by themselves, two cut out alternately — thus they herd together in all circles and buoy themselves up with ideas of their national importance —I retired about twelve—I was not a little surprised to find the hall by which we entered and retired ornamented with sword knots, embroidered vests, rings, etc., etc., the property of the servants, held up on chairs and a table *pro venditioni exponas*—and as you pass they bow with an interrogating look—won't you buy something?

"A cold morning—the hat here, as in Dresden, seems for the hand instead of the head—they walk with great coats, heads full dressed and *chapeau sous bras et a la main*—visited the imperial palace — the apartments are large but not superfluously furnished—the gentlemen in waiting were civil—from their account he is a very temperate man—in the morning drinks his coffee—walks or rides out—dines, drinks water, goes to the theatre—visits his minister or some other and retires generally before twelve—we visited his deposit of medals and coins ancient and modern, where are some of the first in the world for size and elegance ... ..."

Vienna Oct. 19 1785

"After paying on respects to the Baron de Born, his lady and daughters and the two Miss Raps, from whom we had received great civility and attention, we arranged our affairs with our banker Mr. Fries not without some difficulty in the per cent line and what is much to the dishonor of Mr. Gregory of Dresden, he wrote a private letter requesting that one per cent might be stopped for him—we treated it with proper contempt and drew on Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorst of Amsterdam—I formed an agreable acquaintance with a name-sake, Mr. William Smith, Merchant from Aleppo, on his return to London—he appears a candid, liberal gentleman both in political and comercial conversations—an hour was spent with great satisfaction in attending to the disply of Miss Raps's cabinet of natural history which is small, elegant and complete —having settled our bills and given Miranda credit on Amsterdam for £ 200 sterling and about £ 40 in cash to ac-

Vienna Oct. 24 1785

comadate him on his tour to Constantinople, &, we both parted from the Boeuf Blanc at two o'clock P. M. on wednesday the 26th. of October 1785, he to visit Hungary, &, &, and I to visit Paris on my way to London".

From Vienna, where Smith and Miranda separated, the latter continued his travels through Austria and Hungary and later through Italy, where he passed a considerable part of the year 1786, visiting Trieste, Verona, Mantua, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples and Ragusa.

From Italy he set out for Greece, where he travelled extensively, particularly visiting the important ruins and studying Greek archeology with great application and preserving a quantity of sketches and drawings in his Diary of the various Temples etc. which he had seen. A voyage along the Levantine coast, took him as far, perhaps, as Alexandria, and although he has no record in his journal of having visited Egypt, he makes reference to a visit the in several of his letters. Then, retracing his steps he arrived in Constantinople late in the year 1786 and after a fairly short stay in Turkey, proceded to the Crimea.

It was at the town of Chersona where he was with the Prince Viasemsky that he made the acquaintance of Prince Potemkin and also of the Prince Nassau-Siegen, with whom he travelled through the Crimea and with the latter to the Imperial Court at Kieff.

CHAPTER III

AT THE COURT OF CATHERINE THE GREAT OF RUSSIA. KIEFF. MOSCOW. ST. PETERSBURG.

In January 1787, Catherine II, made her celebrated progress to the Southern Provinces of Russia, accompanied by various high Court functionaries and her favorites of the moment, as well as by certain Diplomatic officers who stood high in her favor.

The Princess Lucien Murat in that most interesting book, "La Vie Amoureuse de la Grande Catherine", writes of the Imperial progress to the Crimea as follows: (1)

"After the New Year's celebrations the Empress, once more serene, and still in love (2), decided to make the tour of her *"little state"*, as she boastfully called her Empire... Potemkin went first to blaze the trail... Mason, Field Marshal, gardner, this prestidigitator, built cities, triumphal arches, and fleets; and laid out enchanted parks in which flowers grew under the foot of his Cleopatra. What a voyage! What a cortege! Fourteen carriages, one hundred and sixty-four sleighs, five hundred and sixty horses, which pawed the ground at each relay! What cold! It froze at 17° degrees.

"The travelling coach of Her Majesty is an appartment de luxe on wheels, with its salon, whist table and library. Mlle. Protassoff, ugly, vain, black as a queen of Tahiti, and Count Mamonow, take their places therein, quarelling.

"Narychkine (3), Cobenzl (4), Fitz-Hebert (5), Ségur (6), mountibanks and diplomats have come to solve puzzels, play at charades and cap each other verses... The tardy sun did not rise until midday and went down shortly after the hasty dinner. But there was no need of it· torches of pines and birches burn on each of the road which crossed the frost-covered steppes, making all more brilliant than the light of day. The *versts* rolled by, and suddenly Kieff presented its gilded domes".

"The winter snows melted as a sherbet at a ball, the Borysthine carried the many-colored barges to new conquests. The populace alive with curiosity pressed forward!

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(1) Translated from the French.

(2) With Count Dimitri Mamonow, a distant cousin of Prince Potemkin.—Potemkin, though still "Amant en titre" of Catherine the Great, and who exerted a strong influence over her, had found it suitable for his interests to chose this young cousin as the lover of the Empress and had him made her aide-de-camp.

(3) The Master of the Horse of the Empress.

(4) The Austrian Ambassador.

(5) The British Minister.

(6) The French Minister.

What clothes! See fur bonnets of the Mongols, the pointed turbans of the Lesghis, the Tartars' embroidered caps; the white *Bourkas,* of the Caucasian Princes, bowed low before their Sovereign, who throws them, munificiently, ribbons and pearls.

"The Majestic flotilla descended the river Borysthéne to meet the Kings (1). *'Even though it is dificult to believe, Catherine is a sovereign to be put in a history rather than in a novel'*—remarked that jockey-diplomat. the Prince de Ligne, who had joined the illustrious travellers".

Prince Potemkin, who as we have seen was travelling on ahead of his Imperial Mistress, arrived in Chersona, the Capital of the Crimea, late in December.

Miranda writes of his meeting with him as follows:

Miranda's Diary Chersona Dec. 28 1786

"The Commanding General, Suworow, dined with us. He arrived two days ago and is one of the suite of Prince Potemkin. Also Tekelli, Stakelberg and the principal officers of the garrison were among our guests ... ... "

"At sun down we heard the salutes fired by the artillery, which announced the long awaited arrival of Prince Potemkin. All the military went out to meet him and I was left with the ladies, in whose company we continued our game of *"Loto"*. The Prince and his suite supped with Colonel Tekelli, who later told us that Prince Nassau (2), who has been in Spain, accompanied him here".

"Every one has gone to pay court to the *favorite Idol* (Potemkin) and I had a *téte a téte* with the aimable Princess V. ... ... (3).

"Later her husband, who had dined with Potemkin, at Tekelli's, came in and told many absurd stories of the Prince's Court ... ... "

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(1) Kings of Austria and Poland.

(2) The Prince Nassau-Siegen, a favorite of the Empress and a general of the Russian Army. He served in France and Spain.

(3) He refers to Princess Viasemsky. He had letters to her husband and was often a guest at their house while in Chersona.

"In the morning I went with Prince Dolgorousky to call upon Nassau, not without a certain distaste, (as my friend V. ... did not offer to present me to Potemkin; I don't know if he was afraid to do so or was too much of a snob. Even though he knew that I did not want anything of him). Nassau was not at home, so I merely left a card...Then to the Court...a lot of buffons as well as some respectable persons, but spoke with no one. The Minister came out and bowed; what diverted me a bit was the variety of costumes; there were three: Cossaks, Kalmuks, and Greeks Jews (the latter intend to offer the Prince bread, salt and lemons on great silver salvers; some ceremony of the Greeks, without doubt)".

Chersona Dec. 30 1786

"Dolgorousky and I then went to see the parade (the Guard of Honor of the Prince which was being changed-composed of a company with the flag). The troops looked to me to be very good: the soldiers have a manner of marching not unlike the British".

"I dined with Dolgorousky, where we passed a pleasant time with the Princess-later in the afternoon we took tea, and I went home, where I found Prince and Princess V...who had returned from Korsakoff's, where they had dined with Potemkin. The Princess told me that Potemkin had asked about me quite a good deal... The Aide-de-camp of the Prince, Mr. Rokasowsky, arrived and told me that the Prince had given orders that I should be announced immediately on my arrival and that he had understood that I had been to see him last night ... ... "

"Wrote during the morning - dined - téte-a-téte with the Princess; then arrived certain Russian ladies from the surrounding country to pay a visit. Prince V. ... came in and told me that Prince Potemkin wished to see me and later his aide-de-camp brought me an invitation to spend the evening in his company. I sent out for a sword at the urgent insistance of my friend and above all on the part of the Princess for whom particularly, I made this condescension — Great Heavens! what triffles and absurdities! Finally on my arrival, they opened the way for me and the aide-de-camp brought me directly to his

Highness's sitting room. He rose to receive me most politely and made me take a seat: Nassau was seated at his right and spoke to me with the greatest friendliness: The three of us then took tea, which the Prince himself made; he asked me many general questions in regard to Spanish America and I answered them as far as concerned my own country. Nassau asked me if I was travelling under the orders of the Court (of Spain) or for my own pleasure, etc. ... A certain Rivas (a Napolitain) who is also an aide-de-camp and a colonel of cavalry in the Russian service, spoke to me in Spanish. He seems a good sort and well educated, etc. ... At this moment the Countess Sivers came in. She is a lady of rather easy virtue, but of a very good family. She has lived that sort of life in Petersburg... lately she has been leading a very retired life in Kremenchuk, seen by none... She has conquered the friendship of the Prince and follows him as his "chére amie"... and every one rushes to pay court to her... She now is living in the house of the Commander of the Fortress... When she came in the Prince gave her a kiss and made her sit on his right ... ... "

Chersona Jan. 1 1786

"At home writing... In the P. M. I had a visit from one of the aides-de-camp of Prince Potemkin, with an invitation to pass the evening in his company (and I understood that he greatly regretted that I had not stayed to supper the night before). The Princess was also invited. He received me with great courtesy: there was music as usual and I remained for supper... At table, he (Prince Potemkin) placed me next to him and we talked about politics... among other things he told me that the Empress had been requested by the King of Spain not to receive the *Jesuits* and upon her having refused this petition he had let her know that same day she would repent of having allowed *such persons* to enter her Realm. ..... We spoke about the Marquis de La Torre, who was a friend of his and of a certain Mr. Ellis of Jamaica—also in regard to the Spanish character... At midnight the supper ended: (there were only present the gentlemen of his household and Madame Sivers)".

From what Miranda has noted in his very full diary of these days, it seems that his friendship with Potemkin grew rapidly and he was invited by the Prince to accompany Nassau and himself on their trip through the Crimea. They left Chersona on January 10th and visited many towns in Tauride, including Inkerman and Sebastopol. Upon their return to Chersona, Potemkin received an urgent call to leave immediately for Kieff to join the Empress and so departed leaving Miranda with Prince Nassau with whom he travelled to Kieff a short time afterwards, where they arrived on February 7th.

Kieff
Feb. 14
1787

"I was at the palace exactly at 11 o'clock, and half an hour later the Empress entered, to whom I was presented by the Prince Besborodko, Grand Chamberlain of the Court, and I kissed her Majesty's hand, who, with great affability took it from her muff and presented it to me in passing (since here it is not the custom to kneel)' and I made another bow on retiring. Later, with the permit which Prince Potemkin sent to me, I went to the Ante-room and Her Majesty came to speak to me, immediately asking me how many degrees of heat at the lowest we had in my own country. Afterwards, we went to the Great Hall, where there was a table set with sixty places (I had been invited before this by Prince Boriatinsky) in the form of a parallelogram on three sides... We seated ourselves at 12.30 and I found myself next to Count Tchernichew, who looked after me with much attention and Her Majesty sent me on two occasions some (choice morsels) from the dishes beside her place: at 2 o'clock the dinner came to an end.

"Her Majesty retired to her apartments and we went back to our house until 6.30 when we returned to the Court. The Great Drawing Room was filled with foreign ladies and also Russians (they wear the Court dress of the part of the country where they make their homes, as do the men, and this is indeed not a bad regulation). All the people of distinction as well as all the foreigners were here. The Prince (Potemkin) presented me, in a most friendly manner to General Mamonow, who treated me

with cordiality and invited me to sup in his appartment at 10 o'clock that evening. Her Majesty during the game (whist) asked me several questions about America and Spain, and among others if it were possible if the Inquisition still existed... (She said) that in Little Russia there were some Dominican Monks and that when she saw them she said to herself: "God preserve us"! making an allusion to the fact that they had been the instruments to carry out the orders of that Tribunal! These and other like statements showed me the goodness and the excellence of her heart. At about 8 p. m. the game of whist, which she was playing with the Prince Potemkin, the Ambassador of Germany and General Mamanow, came to an end... and she made us a deep courtesy and retired to her apartments ... ...

about the Arab Architecture at Granada, the gardens, baths, etc.—and more about the Inquisition and about Literature... in the most affable manner imaginable—we sat at the same table and she spoke with all in the most amiable way. She left at 10 p. m. and we continued dancing the Polonais and Mlle. Naritchin danced a Cossack dance which was delightful, and together with her sister, the Countess Galawkin, danced a Russian dance, which is even more *suggestive* than our Fandango... How well the Naritchin danced! and with what subtile movements of her shoulders and hips: enough to resusitate a dying man! and so at 2 a. m. home ... ... !"

"At ten a. m. I went to the Prince's house, as I had a wish to go to the Empress' Mass, but I found him, according to my idea, a triffle cold; he went in a carriage with Nassau and others and I went in another with Kissclow... Nassau told me that Potemkin had observed to him that if I did not leave soon I would find the rivers unfordable: this made me suspect that His Highness was becoming weary of my company, and I decided to leave immediately... After Mass, Her Majesty took a walk around the church to admire the view... and there were many who said that it resembled Naples, even though there was not the least similarity!... I went back to the Palace with my friend Viasemsky and we arrived before the Empress, whose hand, when she arrived, Madame Naritchin kissed in order to thank her for having come to her house the night before, even though there was no State dinner—I retired to my room with the resolution to write to my friends, to finish my diary and to leave immediately... Nassau came to look for me to go to Court or to the house of the *Palatinate* after supper, but I did not wish to go anywhere and so stayed in my chamber, writing until after midnight.

Kieff
Feb. 20
1787

"I started to write my diary early in the morning and later gave instructions that my *Kibitka* (travelling coach) be put in order to leave immediately—Nassau came to tell me that the Empress had asked for me and wished to know if I were ill and that Potemkim had replied that I

was most assuredly not aware that a Court was being held—After dinner I told Potenkin that I had decided to leave after two days, and he replied: "Don't you want to kiss the Empress's hand?" — "Most certainly" — I told him,—"But it must be to-night", he said, "as Her Majesty does not hold another Court until Sunday"—"I will give you a courrier to prepare horses and accompany you to Moscow"—I then thanked him for his kindness.

"I suspect that this coolness on the part of the Prince was the result of the evenings which I had passed in the house of the Palatinate of Russia, and because of my conversations with her.

Kieff
Feb. 22
1787

"Count Stakelberg took occasion of this opportunity to say to Potemkin:—"You bring with you these foreigners and you look with favor upon their actions"—to which he responded: "I can vouch for this one, and I even esteem his criticisms", which compliment they thought would completely turn my head... a little later Stakelberg came in to the Drawing Room and as I was seated conversing with certain ladies, I did not do him the compliment to rise, and some of the Polish gentlemen followed my example, which certainly did not please him, particularly in that meeting... finally at 6 o'clock, Nassau and I left. Nassau in the Russian uniform of his Province, in order to kiss Her Majesty's hand in recognition for the lands she had given him near her Domains. When we reached the Palace, the Maréchal R. ... received me most cordially and offered me letters of introduction so that I could stay in his house in Moscow... The Grand Chamberlain—de Shovalow—also was most kind and I received a thousand attentions in the Ante-Chamber of Her Majesty... At this moment, Potemkin arrived and told me that Her Majesty would not consent to allow me to leave at this time as it was dangerous to ford the rivers and I might be exposed to a disagreeable accident... I replied that it would surely be temerity on my part not to abide by the Counsels of Her Majesty and every one said that this was best... Shortly after this, Her Majesty left to go to the house of the German Ambassador, where there

was a supper and a ball; she told me that if I had the intention of going to drown myself she would not permit it: I thanked Her Majesty many times for her goodness and assured her, in a most subtile manner, that this action coming from her good heart, made such an impression on mine, of tenderness and gratitude, that I could never forget it! and particularly was this the case, when it came as such a contrast to the scene which I had just had with another, whom I considered as my good friend...!

"We went to the Embassy where there were many people and much show!—on the way I noted that Potemkin spoke to me with great affability, touching upon the subject of Polish horses and speaking about various persons of that Nation, who were here at the time ... ... "

Kieff
Feb. 22
1787

"During the whist, Her Majesty asked me many questions in regard to our America, the Jesuits, the natives of the country, etc. ... She asked me about the antiquities of Athens, the Temple of Minerva and of Theseus—also about Italy, the bridge of Matalone and in regard to Charles III of Naples.—We then discussed the status of the Arts in Spain and the celebrated paintings which there are in the Palaces of the King..., and finally she questioned me as to our expedition with O'Reilly to Algiers, etc. — The conversation was lengthy and she showed me, once more, the goodness of her heart, her humanity, her instruction and her *esprit*.... Nassau told me that the Empress had said to him that she was glad to detain me as she did not wish any accident to befall me on account of the thaw—(further sensations of tenderness and gratitude in my heart). Segur told me that I was a great courtier, as in a short time I had been able to make the Sovereign take an interest in me, when she did not address a single word during a month to many foreigners of note... Later we had a magnificent supper and danced the Polonaise, and at 2 a. m. I left with Nassau, who repeated his expressions of friendship and offered me a loan should I have need of it, without having to ask any one else: all of this in a most generous and noble manner!

... ...

"At 6 p. m. I went to the German Embassy where we were invited to attend, it being the feast day of the Emperor, and the Empress herself had had the invitations sent out for a supper and a ball—Her Majesty came about 8 and started to play whist, and the young people to dance... during the game she called me to her for a short talk and made me touch and observe the gown she was wearing, which although it appeared very heavy, was very fine (almost like gauze) and manufactured in Moscow. She said that I seemed very thoughtful... At 10 p. m. the Empress went to supper at a table with 24 places, those of us who left later took the other places — Her Majesty told me that today I was dreaming — and Potemkin said that I was *an observer*—Her Majesty called me and gave me an orange, which she handed me with her own hand and asked me questions in regard to the liquors which the people drank in America and if we had beer? ... ...

said that he thought that I did not like him-however I told him that this was not at all the case and that I would go to his house, to supper this evening. So, I went with the Grand Chamberlain Sholvarow, who on the way there, tried to persuade me not to return to my country, and said that I should stay to live in Petersbourg at his house, where he would place appropriate lodgings at my disposal, etc.—I thanked him a thousand times for his kindness and friendship; and at 10,30 Mamanow came out of Her Majesty's appartments and entered his own and treated me with affection and friendship—we had a magnificent supper and afterwards some played whist (200 rubles the rubber) and also "banco", at another table.

Kieff
Mar. 29-30
1787

"M... W. made me sit by him and showed me every attention. After the game was finished he called me aside and told me that the Empress had charged him to say to me that she wished me to remain among them, since she feared that I would not be well treated in my own country, etc.—I replied saying no one, certainly, loved the Empress more than I, nor was more recognizant of her Royal Goodness, but that I was in such circumstances at that moment that such a thing was impossible... but finally I comunicated *it* (note: the idea for the liberation of the Colonies?) to him under oath of secrecy, so that he might inform Her Majesty in order that she might do what appeared just to her... He asked me to write *it* out, but as the matter was lengthy, I asked him to set an hour for an interview ... ...

"He accepted the proposal saying that he would send me word through Rivaupierre. After this we spoke of things in general, and he even said to the Grand Chamberlain that it would be a serious misfortune should the Inquisition sacrifice a person like myself. Afterwards, we took our leave at 2 o'clock a. m. ... ... "

"At six o'clock I went to the Palace where there was a great ball and it was so crowded that there was scarcely enough space to dance. The Empress remained standing to watch one or two Polonaises; afterwards, she sat down to play whist as usual, the others continuing to dance in

the same room. She did not address a word to the French but she called me to her and told me that I was getting thin and asked me the reason. After the game was over, several foreigners came up to kiss Her Majesty's hand upon taking their leave, and among them was Dillon to whom Her Majesty refused to give her hand to kiss because when she put out her hand the first time he made a bow in the French manner and she became annoyed and turned her shoulder on him and did not look again at him... Mamonow showed me many attentions which are the signs of Her Majesty's favor".

"I went to dine at the house of Maréchal Romainzow who has the most delicate food and abundant table, served with taste and elegance in the best company and most agreable society. Prince Potemkin went by carriage to inspect the ships which are at a distance of five *versts;* the ships are being prepared to carry the Empress and her *retinue.* And it is interesting to note that while I was seeking, during these days, an opportunity to tell the Prince what Mamonow had communicated to me, I was never able to find him, nor did he say a word to me... To sup at the house of Mamonow (he gave me a couy of an excellent silhouette of the Empress, which he had made from life and for which I had asked him: I have pasted it in my diary: this portrait is worth much more than all the others which I have seen of Her Majesty up to the present time) -the Prince showed me many attentions; the conversation finally turned to the statements made by Ambassador Cobenzl, who said that I should be kept here because I would be burned by the Inquisition if I return to Spain and that it would be a calamity. The Prince added that should I attempt to leave, he would retain me by force. In truth, I do not know what to think of all this plot, although the future will tell".

Kieff
Mar. 31
1787

"I sought the Prince in order that my matters should not be further delayed and spoke to him in regard to the message which I had received from the Empress through Mamonow saying that I did not wish to take any step without his consent, &...He listened to me with pleasure

and told me that this was the same matter which, already on two occasions, he had told me he desired to communicate to me in name of the Empress who with the affection of a mother had spoken to him about me and who feared for

Kieff
April 1
1787

me greatly because of the rumours which Rokasowsky had brought from Vienna and also on account of what Normandez had intimated in Petersburg, which... was that something disagreable might happen to me in Spain; that he communicated this to me as he was waiting this opportunity to speak to me. I replied thanking him a thousand times and made him see that it was not necessary, on account of this foolish precaution, to abandon serious purposes and important plans. 'That is very well — he replied—'but it is necessary to await the time and occasion'. We therefore terminated our conversation on account of the arrival of his nieces and in the evening we supped at the Naritchin's".

"Today at the Palace, just after the noon hour, the Empress, before all the Court, inquired of P. ..., in a loud voice, 'Where is Mr. de Miranda?' To which I replied: 'At the feet of Your Majesty', 'I am delighted' she told me and we exchanged a few words together. —At this moment Stakelberg approached us and in a fawning

April 4
1787

manner said to the Empress that I was the true "Historiographer" of the Crimea as I had described that country with such care and detail, etc. ... (the man made me blush). In order to cut short my embarrasment, the Empress replied: 'We shall see the Crimea ourselves very soon and we will even add something to its history, etc...' We then went to dine and even at table Her Majesty favored me with her conversation... and afterwards she spoke most affectionately to me, calling me to her side.

"Mamonow told her that 'tomorrow I had to confess myself to him in the morning', making allusion to an appointment which we had for me to speak to him in regard to my matters ... ... "

"I wrote during the morning, and in the evening supped with the Prince—after which we had a talk in which he said that merit did not exist in all parts of the world

Portrait of Catherine the Great of Russia, appearing in the "Archivo del General Miranda" - Vol. V. This portrait is in the museum at Versailles and was copied by Doctor William Spence Robertson for his "The Life of Miranda", Chapel Hill N. C. - 1929.

and that even England had gone down terribly... that Pitt, with the Treaty which he had lately made with France completed the ruin of that Nation, etc. ... I told him my ideas and our conversation continued until 2 a. m. I inferred that he was attempting to dissuade me from my undertaking and from going to England ... ... " Kieff April 8 1787

"At Court—and from there went with Whitworth to the house of Fitz-Herbert in order to go together to dine at the City Hall with the Empress, where we were invited by written invitation—The others did not wish to go to church first—so I went alone... At I was getting into my carriage, Mamonow came up and insisted that we should all go together in his, which we did and proceeded to the Chapel of the University: but it was very cold and the three of us came out, leaving Mamonow. In the City hall which is close by, we found the table already set (some 100 places) and about a hundred or more peasant women, amongst whom we did not observe one with regular features. Shortly after this the Empress arrived and the Lord Mayor started to make an address in her honor, but could not get further than the second word, he then stopped abruptly, and Her Majesty relieved his embarassment by immediately replying to his speech — We discussed various matters, and the Prince joked with me about the Inquisition, saying that it should be sent all over America and to Caracas... The Empress said that she believed that it was not good in any place... The Prince said that I should be sent as Inquisitor..." April 11

"After dinner we had a Sonata on the Piano played by a young girl from that part of the Country, eleven years old".

"I was observing the Empress; the contrast between the young and the old;... I don't know what de Ligne said to her but she said to me: 'At my age one does not change; ... ... I prefer to be envied rather than pitied, ...

toward the bank of the river whence one had a beautiful view. I returned to find him already up (putting on his jewelry and ruffles) and we spoke with interest of our

Kieff
April 12
1787

matter and I told him the reasons why I did not accept at this time the offer which Her Majesty made me for me to remain in her service, etc. ... He listened to me with great pleasure, and offered (to obtain for me) a reply for that night (1) at the supper of Maréchal R. ... to which I had been invited as well as Mr. Fitz-Herbert and Mr. Whitworth in whose society we had an agreeable time".

"At nine thirty P. M. Whitworth came to get me and we went to Branitzky's house for a moment—The Prince had already sent for me with great condescension and distinction: this made me believe that my reply, which had been sent to the Empress through Mamonow, had been received and had not been unpleasant to them... after a time Whitworth and myself excused ourselves; and at 10 we went to see Mamonow, who, upon our arrival at his house, approached me immediately to tell me with great pleasure of the reply of the Empress; this was as follows: 'That my way of thinking appeared to her to be very good; that she gave me her protection in all parts of the world; that as she did not know the *place* (Venezuela?) she was not able to give me counsel as to the execution (of the plans)?... but that later she would tell me more in regard to the matter' ... ...

he gave me marked proof of his friendship... I went downstairs to dine with the Prince, who remarked that I came but rarely..."

"In the afternoon I went to pay certain farewell visits: in the evening I went to see Mamonow who I found alone and he immediately spoke to me of my matters, excusing himself for not having kept the morning's appointment, on account of the reason already given. He said that the Empress offered me to send the letters she had promissed directly to the Ambassadors, for the reason that they might not reach me, etc. ... I replied that this was satisfactory to me but that for my greatest security and in order to assist me in bringing my plans to a satisfactory conclusion, a letter of credit for 10.000 rubles, would be most acceptable in case a necessity... He replied: 'That is all right but please speak in regard to this to Prince Potemkin and he will then speak to the Empress and everything will be arranged' ... He charged me to write to him often and to advise him as to my needs... He said that he would give me a letter to his father in Moscow, etc. We then supped with great pleasure and I went home about one A. M."

Kieff April 20 1787

"I went downstairs early to speak to the Prince but he had already gone out... Prince Nassau and I then went to the Palace, which we found full of people on account of its being the Empress's birthday—The Prince called me and asked me 'What are you going to do when we go away?'.

April 21 1787

'I must speak to you about this: shall we speak about it after dinner?' We afterwards went to Saint Sophia where there was the ordinary mass. I then went to the Empress's mass, particularly to see her, and in passing, she asked if I were well, since she had been told that I had been ill. We returned to the Palace, as usual, where the list of promotions in the order of the day, was read. The Prince came to tell me that one of our companions, Mr. Kiselow, had been made a colonel. At table the Empress made signs to me that I was very pensive. She spoke about me considerably to Potemkin who keep looking

at me and smiling. After dinner I went home and in accordance with his promise he came to speak with me of my affairs. Finally he said: 'Tell me what you wish' and I explained what I had already said to Mamonow. He said 'Very good, Southerland has a brother in England, who can assist you perfectly, he will give you everything'... He asked for a pen and an inkstand and gave me three letters for Tulla (he means the manufacturing city of Toula) whose manufacturing plants he recommended me to visit carefully and also (letters) for Moscow. He told me that he would give me a courrier to accompany me".

"Later we went to the Palace and he immediately spoke about my affairs. At that moment Mamonow came up bringing the Count de Besborodko, so that I might advise him how I wished to have the letters to the Ministers in Foreign countries, written... I explained everything to him asking him particularly to keep the secret—to which he replied that everything would be strictly observed —but as it was not possible to write the letters that night, he asked me to wait for two days more, during which time he would arrange for a special post boat on the river and send me with it all the dispatches.

Kieff
April 21
1787

"The Prince came back to say that it would be necessary for me to wait a couple of days and then a post boat would be arranged, which would meet my needs.

"I kissed the hand of the Empress upon taking leave of her and she wished me a very safe journey".

"I was downstairs early and ran into the Prince, who was on his way out and asked him if I should write a letter to the Empress expressing my gratitude: he told me that this was necessary, and said that if I sent it to him, he would present it to Her Majesty. He also said that the same courrier, by whom he was sending the dispatches, which we had discussed, would accompany me as far as Moscow... and that he would write to me frequently.

April 22
1787

"Nassau and I went to the Palace which was crowded with people... Count Besborodko told me that my letters were already written; and that the only thing lacking

was the Imperial Seal; that by Saturday, at the latest, I should receive everything: I handed him a note for his Government" (1).

"The Empress left before noon to visit the churches and the Regiment: the Cuirassiers de Kieff of Mr. Englalar, formed in dress parade before the Empress. I had a good chance to look them over closely but they seemed to me to have no discipline whatever".

Kieff April 22 1787

"We went on from here to the landing stage to witness Her Majesty's embarkation and had a lengthy conversation with Stakelberg in regard to Chesmé and Row, etc. ... and also a talk with that scandalous libertine de Ligne, who boasted of his affair with Mme. de S...b, and who kept drawing the likeness of Priapos on the gaming tables, etc. — At about one o'clock Her Majesty arrived and entered her boat with the Prince, Madames Branitzka and Skabronsky and Mlle. de Protassoff, Count Cobenzl and Mamonow, who arrived a bit late. Mlle. Tchernichew who had already one foot in the boat was made to withdraw it, which made her blush! Such is the precarious happiness in these exalted circles! ... ... "

"I passed the morning writing... the letters of the Prince and of Besborodko—still do not appear! ... ... "

April 28 1787

"At five we went to the house of the Maréchal where we heard that the Empress had passed last Sunday with the King of Poland at Kaniow and that Prince Potemkin had gone by road from that place to Kremenchuke and that on Monday Count de Besborodko had gone the same way. Perhaps they have not sent me the promissed letters".

"I took it upon myself to write to Prince Potemkin and to Count de Berborodko to advise them of my departure, without waiting for their promised dispatches—the Maréchal's carriage came and I went to dine with him. He gave me various letters for the Governor General of Moscow, for the Count de Osterman and for Count de Bruce,

(1) Note.—Probably a memorandum on some political situation they had discussed.

etc.... and one for his aide-de-camp, so that I could lodge at his palace in Moscow and he treated me with many expressions of favor and friendship—I gave him my letters for Besborodko and Prince Potemkin which he promised to send on immediately and to deliver to me any replies which he might receive ... ... "

Kieff
May 1
1787

Miranda set forth on May 2nd in his travelling coach for Moscow, a distance of 895 *versts* according to his calculations. He made the journey in some ten days. An interesting but hard trip as he notes in his diary.

"In the morning I received a visit from the Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Besin, who is Lieutenant-Colonel in this service, and who advised me that the Maréchal had ordered him to supply me with whatever I needed. He made me hire a 'Berlin' with four horses at a cost of four rubles per day. At one o'clock I went out to pay several visits, but the Governor was not at home: I left my letters and a card... I could not understand my servants nor they me!... What an extensive city this is! The gardens, parks and open spaces in the middle of the city are numerous! Nevertheless, there are a great number of very good dwellings and palaces constructed in the Italian, French, English and Dutch styles".

Moscow
May 12
1787

"At 9 a. m. the Secretary of the Governor came to pay his repects and to give me an apology in the part of the Governor for not having seen me before — but my letters (through a mistake of my servants) were handed to the Civil Governor and they were not brought to their proper destination until the evening. He proposed that I should go to visit the city and I made up my mind to do so to-day. He left me to go to make arrangements and came back later ... ... At five p. m. I took my coach to go to see the parade of carriages which is held today at the Convent of Divitch-Monastir, where the celebrated Princess Sophia was detained. There were a great many very well dressed people in carriages, and on horseback... Various gentlemen were dressed in the English manner, a style which is all the mode here. Mr. Rost (the Governor's Secretary) accompanied me. There must have

May 13
1787

been more than 600 carriages in very good taste and well turned out. I got out and went on foot and entered the Convent and church which is quite rich and then observed various wives of Russian merchants in their (gala) costumes composed of white veils embroidered in gold, silver and silk, etc. Their faces were well painted but paint is not necessary, as nature has made them sufficiently good looking. I returned to my carriage and we took several turns admiring the increasing number of young and good looking women. I called at the house of Prince Gortschahoff but there was no one at home, so I went back to my house".

Moscow
May 14
1787

"The Aide-de-Camp of the Governor General, Captain de Levonoff, came at early hour, to ask me to dine with His Excellency, to-morrow and to accompany me to the University. He took me to see all of the classes in which are taught, free of charge, the following languages: French, Russian, German, Latin, Italian and English (each class in these subjects is usually divided into four); there was also taught philosophy, Morals (which they teach in Latin, as if Russian was lacking in expression) ... ...

"Later I went to the Cremlin, were the Custodian Mr. Kogen, one of the Counsellors of State, to whom I had a letter from Prince Potemkin, was waiting for me ... ... "

"He received me very kindly and I went to see the objets d'art. We went up by the Red Staircase, as it is called (because it is covered with a carpet of this color, and because in Russia red is used to denominate a very special thing). In former days only the Sovereigns came this way (even at that it is not comodious). We went through the four principal appartments which contained a great quantity of ornaments of value, vases, gold services, jewels, and gold and silver trays, etc., the major part of it being heirlooms of the Czars, worth a great deal of money. Among these objects d'art can be noted the crowns of Siberia, Cazan, Astrakan, and Russia; also an arm-chair of gold and silver studded with precious stones, which was made in Persia, and another one on which Ivan and Peter I, used to sit".

Miranda stayed for several weeks in Moscow and made various excursions to nearby places, amongst which was a visit to Count Peter Panin, who had been one of the famous generals of the Empress, and to his son Nikita Panin at their estate at Misalkowa. He left Moscow early in June and arrived in Petersburg on the fourteenth after a tiresome journey. He continues his diary as follows:

"With three horses (harnessed to my coach), I still followed an excellent road in a straight line to Petersburg 22 *versts*... To Petersburg from Moscow the distance is 730 *versts* calculated on the basis of what I paid. At 9.30 in the morning we arrived in the city and after making many turns I finally found the house of General Levachow

Petersburg June 14 1787

in the Granmorskoy. He had done me the favor of giving me a letter, while in Kieff, for his brother Colonel Levachow, in which he instructed him to put me up in his appartments in Petersburg. I sent in the letter to the above mentioned Colonel's house, but the servant paid no attention to me because I had arrived without asiatic pomp. Finally the said Colonel appeared and asked me where was Count de Miranda, to which I replied that I was that person, upon which he made me his apologies... We took coffee and remained there talking until midday when we dined; afterwards, I had to arrange my belongings in the apartment which had been vacated for me. I sent out to find a servant who speaks a little French and he asked me 30 rubles a month (what the devil of price!) and a coach with four horses at 90 rubles a month ... ... and I had to agree to these prices. The rest of the day I passed in the house tired out from the journey ... ... "

June 15 1787

"Dressed and went out to leave the various letters of introduction, which I had brought with me, according to the attached list. Most of the people were in the country and I found but few at home. I had a long conversation with the old Countess de Roumaintzow and also with her daughter the Princess Troubetskoy, whom I also found at home. The old lady told me many things concerning the private life of Peter the Great ... it is remarkable

how this lady who is now one hundred years old is so fresh looking and dresses and keeps herself so well and has such a wonderful memory... I stayed here until dinner time when I went back to my house and dined with Levachow... later I went out again to finish leaving my letters..."

"Raining and cold as the Devil, therefore I spent the morning in the house; various callers but no one of importance. In the afternoon to see the famous house of the Prince Potemkin, which is near the Horse Guards and it is in truth a singular, as well as a fine piece of architecture... a large *round salon,* with its vestibule and anteroom; another in the form of a Roman *circus* (?); another larger still is quadrangular, with a graceful round Temple in the middle; ... etc. ... the decorations and the proportions (of this house) are in the best Greek taste ... The garden is being laid out in the English style and is very well planned. From here I saw the exercises of a squadron of the Horse Guards, not badly mounted and well disciplined. After finishing my visit to the Prince's gardens and to his house, upstairs and down, I came back to my house at 9½ and found various visiting cards". Petersburg June 16 1787

"Spent the morning at home reading books relative to Russia and Petersburg. I wrote a note to General Orloff asking permission to visit the Hermitage or palace of the Empress, which bears that name and is connected with the Winter Palace. He replied that at four p. m. all would be ready. At that hour I went to the house of Mr. Walker, whom I found with his wife, a beautiful English girl, and he showed me certain of his works, especially the portrait of M. Mamonow, which was painted in Kieff and has been engraved by order of the Empress. We went together to the Hermitage and commenced with the pictures which cover all the walls of the Palace and surely must be between three thousand five hundred and four thousand in number, from which it must be inferred that all are not good... there are nevertheless, some superb things, not in the Italian School, which is inferior June 18 1787

here, but in the Flemish, Dutch and Spanish. The best Murillo, which I have ever seen is here; it is a San Juan, almost life size ... ... At 9 I went home; my head full of paintings, statues, gardens, etc. ... ... they kept running through my head all night, and I could not help think how much some possess and how little others! and close by (these treasures) there are people perishing of hunger!"

Petersburg June 19 1787

"In the morning I had a note from the Duke of Serra-Capriola, to whom I had brought a letter of introduction, telling me that Count de Osterman asked me to dine at his Country House, at seven versts from the city, to-day at 1½ p. m. I dressed and proceeded there at the hour set and was astonished at the number of magnificent Country houses or Palaces which are to be seen on this road, etc. ... I arrived on time at the house of the Minister, but did not find any one in the Drawing room, whom I knew; I made my bow to the ladies and the gentlemen present returned my greetings but no one took any further notice... I thereupon took a seat to one side with the same indifference, until the Duke of Serra-Capriola came in. He then spoke to me and presented me to Madame Osterman... later the Count came in and I was presented to him... We then sat down to dinner... After dinner was over I told the Count, that as I had the honor to know and to be well received by Her Majesty, the Empress, I wished for the same reason, to be presented to Monsignor the Grand Duke... He told me that he would advise him and communicate to me his reply immediately... On my return I stopped at the Country house of Prince Kourakin, a Chamberlain of the Court, for whom I had brought letters from my friend the Count of Panin and I had tea with him and he presented me to his wife and invited me to go to-morrow together with them, in the afternoon, to the garden of Mr. de Naritchin, the Great Cup Bearer to Her Imperial Majesty. His garden is the resort of all of the smart people at this time of the year. I left a card on M. and Mme. Naritchin, as I passed by their house, which is in the Country close by

to this one (Kourakin's) and went immediately home to read".

Petersburg June 20 1787

"At one o'clock, the dinner hour I went to Mme. Rivas' house and she presented me to Mr. Betzky, a respectable and worthy old gentleman... there were several foreign diplomats present... The Baron de Nolken, the Swedish Minister invited me to dine to-morrow... and told me that Her Majesty should leave (for Petersburg) to-morrow according to the latest reports ... ..."

July 12 1787

"I learned that the Empress had arrived late yesterday at Zarsko-zelo and I went there to pay my respects—and to dine with Mr. Betzky: Prince Potemkin had not arrived as yet. After dinner I went to pay a call on Cobenzl and Ségur, who were not at home and afterwards went to see Fitz-Herbert, who had a number of guests, so I did not go in ... ..."

"I went to see Betzky at nine and found that he had just arrived from Zarsko-zelo—somewhat ill, according to what I was told by Mme. Rivas; I also learned that my friend Mamonow had asked after me and had spoken well of me. This leads me to believe that I am not in disgrace; but how to understand the absence of the letters and the receipt of no reply: time alone will tell!

July 16 1787

"I had a note from Fitz-Herbert asking me to dine; I went in the morning to call on Cobenzl, who received me with great friendship and to whom I gave a note for Mamonow, whom, he said, had asked for me and for the Prince de Ligne, who had called on me the day before".

"In accord with my note to Mamonow, I set out for Zarsko-zelo at eight thirty in the morning and reached there at 10. My friend Levachow and all of the courtiers received me most graciously as the Empress had charged them to invite me to dine with her: Count of Besborodko asked me to his house for the following Saturday and told me that the Charge d'Affairs of Spain had been to complain about a letter I had written to him and to ask that my person be handed over to him, asserting that I had been in the Spanish Service but that I was not now connected with it — and that I was considered in that

country as a person most dangerous for the Empire—The Count had replied to him saying that there was no extradition treaty with Spain and for that reason his request was not well founded; to which the reply was made that as Spanish Empire was thought to be in peril and that they (Russia and Spain) were good friends, he had no doubt but that Russia would consent to his request. Besborodko referred this message to the Empress, who replied that if the Spanish Empire was in danger on my account, I could be in no better place than in Russia as it was the most distant from Spain of any country — and that as regards the feeling which Her Majesty had for me it had nothing to do with the rank I had in Spain, but was due to my personal qualities, which Her Majesty knew full well and through which I had acquired her esteem and protection. Besborodko spoke with much friendship thinking that all of this came from the machinations of Macanaz, but I was persuaded that there was something more at the bottom of it".

Petersburg
July 18
1787

"Her Majesty came out on her way to church, and came directly to me—"Oh, how delighted I am to see you"—she said—'We have not seen each other since Kieff—How was your trip?, etc'.'—I went on to the church and she called me to her by means of an inclination of the head and secretely asked me if I had knowledge of what the Spanish Chargé d'Affairs had just requested — That she had told Besborodko to advise me of everything and act as my counsellor; and that I now would see that what she had told me at Kieff to be on my guard against such persons, was true. And she said all this with such an air of affection and interest as a mother might do—what a noble spirit!"

"On leaving the church, Count d'Osterman took me up together with the Baron of Nesmacher, Minister from Curland, to kiss Her Majesty's hand, and the Empress remarked to him 'who is the gentleman who you are presenting to me as if I did not know him—He is my old friend, known to me before any of you' ... ... "

"Baratensky told me to stay to dine at the special

invitation of Her Majesty and Mamonow greeted me with great effusion, informing me of all that had happened in the same way as Besborodko, on the part of the Empress, whom, he said had spoken of me in the same manner as of those highest in her estimation. He made excuses for Prince Potemkin for not having sent on to me the letters which Bes... had confided to him for me; and finally said that he was pleased that everything was being settled more favorably for me, etc.

"Later Her Majesty asked me how I liked Moscow and Zarsko-zelo, etc. and that I must see her inside appartments. She called Mamonow and told him to show me everything. We forthwith entered the appartments and I came back to see the great drawing room, which is incrusted with Lapuzlazuli, mother of pearl, etc. (probably the richest in the whole world), and also to see the other rooms—Turkish, Chinese, Roman..., etc.—and I noticed with great pleasure the number of books and papers which Her Majesty keeps by her; these are infalable signs of the study and work upon which this great Sovereign is so worthily occupied, in an endeavor to preserve and aid her subjects and Empire—a very rare attribute—We then went to the baths—these rich appartments in antique style are arranged with even more taste than the others—then to the great colonnade built by the English architect Camaron... out of wood, it really deserves to be of marble".

Petersburg July 18 1787

"At this moment the Emisaries sent by the King of Sweden to compliment Her Majesty (on her birthday?) Baron Cedarstrom, Grand Maréchal of the Court of Stocholm, and the other Mr. ... came up—They asked me what I thought of these appartments and I said I was surprised that Her Majesty had not built her palace on the "Hill of the Sparrows", at Moscow, to which they replied that she did not wish to be subjected to the evil smells and smoke of the city, from which the place (I mentioned) was not free, etc."

"We spoke at length and then went to dine at a table which had, I think, 130 places.

"Up to the present time it has not been permitted

the nobility of the country to pay their compliments to the Empress, who does not receive any foreigners without her permission, nor any of her subjects other than those who had direct business to take up with her or who are her intimates".

"Also the Grand Duke and Duchess, spoke to me in quite a friendly manner".

Petersburg July 18 1787

"After dinner, Sprengtporten, Cedarstrom and I went to take a walk in the garden, which delights me more each time I see it".

"The iron bridges (which are an imitation of those in England, now under construction) are really beautiful for their grace, lightness and strength, all of which are reunited in them... On our return to the palace we went to make a call upon Mme. Naritchin, who is a good friend of mine ... ..."

"Later went to see the Empress, who appeared at 6 in a costume for the country—she spoke to me about the garden, and started to play (whist) with the Grand Duke, the Duchess, Mme. Naritchin, d'Osterman, etc., and I talked with Bruce, Mamonow, etc.—and then retired... I returned to Petersburg and went at 8 to Betzky,s house where Mme. R... told me that certain people about the Court had already criticized the fact that the Empress had received them coldly and only appeared to speak at length with the Spaniard M... a. We had an amusing supper, always day light—as it never is absolutely night-always interesting to me".

July 19 1787

"I went to see Cobenzl, to whom I told my affairs and he gave me many proofs of friendship. He saw my letter to Macanaz and thought it was very good, but according to his views a *little strong,* he gave me friendly advice and asked me to dinner the following day".

Note: A free translation from the Spanish of the famous letter from Macanaz, the Spanish Chargé D'Affaires at Petersburg to Miranda and the more famous reply to the letter, which caused such an amount of discussion at Court and made certain difficulties for our hot tempered Colonial, follows:

"Dear Sir:

"Having been informed that you had presented yourself at this Court with the title of the Count de Miranda, and as a Colonel in the service of the King, my Master, I find it necessary for me to demand of you the documents which accredit you as such, and at the same time to warn you, that if they are not forthcoming, I will proceed against you in order to prevent you from using the said uniform".

At St. Petersburg, July 13, 1787.

Your obedient servant,

(S.) *Pedro de Macanaz".*

To S. Don Francisco de Miranda.

"Dear Sir:

"I am not without the means to satisfy your incredulity or your pretensions, if the manner in which you made your request in your letter of yesterday's date, had been correct and courteous. The threat, with which you conclude your note is as ridiculous as it is insulting and the language used is so despicable that it may only be used by you with those persons who have the misfortune to be your inferiors".

Your obedient servant,

(S.) *F. de Miranda".*

Petersburg, July 14, 1787.

To Sr. Don Pedro de Macanaz.

"I went out early with the Aide-de-Camp of Levachow to visit the City Hospital called "The Catharina"; new and well arranged , etc. . . . To see the Mariners Churches, built for Winter and Summer, in the Italian style . . .

"At two o'clock I went to dine with Cobenzl, where there were various foreigners, among whom Colonel Baillie, and passed a pleasant time; afterwards Cobenzl spoke to me of my affairs in a friendly manner and with much interest. To-day I wrote to Mamonow telling him where I was living and thanking him for the favors and honors I had received from Her Majesty... In the afternoon, on the invitation of Betzky, I went to visit the Foundling Hospital... an excellent thing, in truth; the building is excellently planned, perhaps the second after the Academy of Fine Arts in Petersburg... after this to Betzky's to congratulate him and the Russian nation on it. At 11 p. m. home".

Petersburg July 20 1787

" . . . I arrived (at Gatchina) (1) at 5½ . . . I met Fitz - Herbert in domino and Frazier, his Secretary... who received me in a friendly manner and asked me to dine to - morrow.... Later others commenced to come in; Cobenzl, D'Horta, Serra-Capriola, etc., who spoke to me, but Ségur was very serious and I scarcely noticed him. The Grand Duke and the Grand Duchess then appeared(they did not speak to me as usual and I noticed something strange in the attitude of those present... I walked though the gardens with Aproxin and did not accompany the Grand Duke, as I was accustomed to do on such occasions. I later ran into Fitz-Herbert who was also walking about alone and told him although I had promised him to dine that perhaps Ségur would leave (if he saw me there) . . . 'no, he replied', 'do come even if the other does not, you are always free to do what you wish, and I have not the slightest feeling in the matter'. However, I prefered to go to dine with M. . . . with whom I had a tentative engagement".

July 22

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(1) The Palace of the Grand Duke.

"I passed the morning reading and then went to dine with the Count de Bezborodko, who had a big dinner party and all the Diplomatic Corps. As soon as I arrived he took me aside in his study and told me in detail all that had passed with Macanaz and what the Empress had replied and that Her Majesty was interesting herself on my behalf and that she was disposed to give me all protection and aid that was necessary, etc., ... we then went out to join the others and I found there Count D'Osterman and the whole Diplomatic Corps, who were waiting, with the exception of Ségur, and the others were not a little surprised to see me come out with the Minister, particul- Macanaz and Gayangos... we bowed to right and left and Ségur (who had just entered) as if to make ammends for his bad manners came up to me and made me a deep bow wthout saying a word; I did not change my expression and did not bow in return but turned my back and went off in another direction..." Petersburg July 24 1787

"Besborodko has not sent me either the letters he has promised or the letter of credit... Damn these servants, the last one I took on is not a drunkard but is a frightful- glutton, who gets ill every second and leaves me alone so that there is no one in the house who understands a word I say..., what a disadvantage for a traveller not to know the language of the country! I get desperate at times and feel like letting everything go to the Devil! ... ... July 29, 30, 31.

"To Zarsko-zelo to see Besborodko, who sent word he was ill, which gave me a bad impression... and sadly I took coach back to Petersburg, wrapped in my black thoughts, feeling that my fate was against me, in the situation in which I find myself at this moment, due to the falseness of men and particularly of Courtiers, etc. ... but my only hope is in the constancy and magnanimity of the Empress, who is my sole aid at this time, to help me from being made a victim of French politics and Spanish cruelty... with these sad thoughts I went to bed and passed a sad and melancholy night ... ... ! " August 2

"To dine in the country with the Grand Cup Bearer, Naritchin, he and Madame N. received me with gracious-

ness... he said that Mamonow had shown him the note, which I had left with him at Zarsko-zelo for the Empress; de Ligne had told me that the Empress had said the same day that she had seen a person whom she greatly esteemed... (Besborodko) told me that Normandez had been with him and had told him that if he had been here nothing would have occured, because he would have spoken to me in the right manner and everything would have been amicably settled; that as to the request made by Macanaz, he, Normandez, absolutly repudiated it, since, even in the case that instructions had been received to make it, he felt that in no event was it proper to do so ... ... ; that in view of the letter I had written to Macanaz, he was the Spanish representative at that moment, etc. ... and asked that I give him satisfaction in writing ... ... that I had appeared on a feast day at Court in uniform, in his presence, which was too much for him to tolerate! etc., he (Besborodko) told him that the Empress had accorded me her protection and that her esteem for me was personal and not on account of any rank or titles... He also told me that the Empress that very morning had ordered him to give me very ample letters, with a strong recommendation, to all of her Ministers in foreign countries in order that I be given their protection and to assist me in her name, etc. ... ..., and that if I had need of anything further to let him know... that if I returned here I would be very specially received and if I wished to establish myself in Russia that he would find me a very good appointment, etc. That Her Majesty had said that I was to be brought to her private appartments to kiss her hand in farewell, as I had done at Kiew, since she wished, that in no way, the esteem in which she held me, might be diminished, etc. ... He told me to be at the Palace at 12 noon. I thanked him for all of his kindness etc. ... ... "

Petersburg August 7 1787

"To the Palace at 11,30 ... ... Prince Baratinsky came to tell me to go to the private appartments of Her Majesty to kiss her hand and take leave of her and also to advise me that Her Majesty had said that she would

have me dine with her to-day, at the Hermitage.... An officer of the Guard sent by Besborodko came up to show me the way to the inner appartments and I noted that the rival (courtiers) were somewhat surprised. After Church Her Majesty appeared and I kissed her hand and she said to me, with the greatest friendliness, that if I desired to leave she wished me a very good journey... after this we spoke of the climate of Petersburg and other things etc. ... ... Besborodko told me that after dinner he would send all of the dispatches to my house. We then went to the Hermitage, that is to say only those of us who had been invited, eleven in all; i. e. Prince de Ligne, Mademoiselle Protasow, the Grand Chamberlain, Shouvalow, Count of Bruce, Baratensky, Mamonow, the Master of the Horse, myself, the grand cup bearer and Mad. Escabronsky; Her Majesty asked me how she was looking and she commenced to play a bit at billiards and was in a very good humor. (She made a Chassé; and everybody took seats without ceremony) she spoke to me now and then and asked if I had seen her paintings by Raphael... Mamonow gave me every satisfaction for not having received me, etc. ... ... we started to dine and spoke about America, its geographical position, natural history, etc. ... Later we went (with the Empress) to show me various things and then to her sleeping appartments where she took leave of me with great affection. ... ...

Petersburg August 8 1787

" ... ... I went home a little later to lock up the letters (1) which Besborodko finally sent me, together with

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(1) Circular Letter of introduction addressed to the Russian Ambassadors and Ministers at the various Courts of Europe pursuant to the orders of Her Majesty, Catherine of Russia.

(Translation)

"Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco de Miranda, having obtained the good graces of Her Imperial Majesty, on account of his merits and very distinguished qualities, among which is the knowledge, obtained by him during his travels on various Continents, Her Majesty, desirous of giving to Lieutenant-Colonel de Miranda, a proof of esteem and the interest, which the person of the said officer inspires

a draft for 2.000 ducats of Holland, which did not please me, as the sum I had asked for was 10.000 rubles. I went home at 1 o'clock".

"... ... ... I dressed and went at nine thirty to Gatchina, where I arrived at half after twelve; went to Count Putshkin's house, who received me very civilly and asked me if I had taken my leave of the Empress ... ... He told me that I had come at a very opportune moment as he was to dine with the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess and that before dinner I could take my leave of them ...

Petersburg August 9 1787

the Count and I then went on foot to the Palace and shortly the Grand Duke came out and said that he had heard that I wished to bid farewell to them, etc. ... The Grand Duchess also spoke to me and I kissed hands and took my leave of their Imperial Highnesses on the best possible terms ... later we went to dine ... and the Grand Duke and the Grand Duchess spoke to me on various occasions... I left at five for Petersburg... to sup with Betzky and Madame Ribas... later to the house of Naritckin, the Master of the Horse, where I found my good friend Guthrie; a brilliant company... and so home at midnight".

"Went early to the house of Melessino, where de Ligne was to meet us... I left at 11¾ as de Ligne had not

August 10

arrived and I had to see Besborodko at mid day—I found him at home and told him of the difference I had noticed in the Letters of Exchange; that I needed, furthermore, in all 2.000 pounds stirling... 'Very well', (he said) 'when you wish; I have written to Stockholm that the

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in her, recommends that Your Excellency receive Miranda, with the same distinction and appreciation, which Her Majesty has shown him, accord him every sort of attention, give him protection and assistance when he requires it, and offer him asylum in the Embassy should he find that he needs it. In recommending Colonel Miranda, in this manner, Her Majesty the Empress, wishes to give unequivocal testimonial of the great esteem in which she holds merit, wherever it is found and confirms this, herewith, to Colonel Miranda".

"I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(s) Count de Besborodko".

money be paid you there...' I was very satisfied, as I knew from that, that the Empress had made up her mind to aid me in every way! ... ..."

"I went to dine with Dr. Guthrie... and afterwards we went to the house of Southerland... there we found a man who had been looking for me all day long to hand me 500 Ducats, which Mr. Strekalow, the Secretary of the Empress had sent to be handed me... I did not wish to receive (them) as I believed that there was some mistake... but later I changed my opinion... and saw that they were a present from the Empress to pay my expenses in Petersburg, etc. ... what delicacy and generosity!..." Petersburg August 10 1787

"... I went to make a few calls and among others to take leave of the old Countess de Roumaintzow, who, together with her daughter, the Princess N. ... showed me many expressions of affection and friendship... later to dine with Betzky and Madame Ribas... and on to the house of the Countess Galowkin, with whom I passed the afternoon in agreeable society... we took tea and spoke, *en famille,* in regard to this Country... at ten supped... home to bed at midnight and I had to get rid of my servant for I found him dead-drunk ... ... ! " August 13

"After dinner I went out to the country house of Besborodko, some two versts from the city on the Neva... he told me how pleased the Empress was with my letter (of farewell) and had told him to tell me... We spent half an hour walking about his vast garden which was reclaimed from a swamp at immense expense and later we went to his study and, when alone, he commenced to write; first, a letter for Sutherland that he arrange matters in the way I desired and second to his Secretary so that he would give me a copy of the Circular Letter from Her Majesty addressed to her Ministers, which copy I had asked for in case of necessity—and another for the Governor of Wibourg in order that he assist me and show me the Province, etc. ... He also told me that Her Majesty had instructed him to say to me that as the Spaniards were trying to make trouble for me on account of my wearing the (Spanish) uniform, if I so desired I could wear the August 18

uniform of a Colonel in the Russian Service; he said that no one would take offense and that it would give her a great deal of pleasure... I thanked him a thousand times for all of these favors and honors which Her Majesty was good enough to show me and said that probably I would wear no uniform, particularly as I could not wear the Spanish; but that I was very grateful and recognisant, nevertheless, of the honor which Her Majesty conferred upon me... he also asked me to write to him from every place (I visited) without fail, as Her Majesty wished to know how I fared- this I offered to do, as an obligation on my part; and then took my leave..."

Petersburg August 19 1787

"Early in the morning I wrote to Besborodko in regard to the matter (of the uniform) asking him to put the message (of the Empress) in writing as I had decided to have made, a uniform of a Colonel in the Russian service and to use it in case of necessity and to call myself by that title, in view of the fact that Her Majesty wished to favor me with such a distinction and honor... at the same time I sent for the tailor and ordered him to make me a uniform of the Regiment of the Cuirassiers of Catherineslaw ('the Glory of Catherine') which was commanded by the Prince Potemkin... then to see Sutherland... and said to his cashier that the letter would certainly set his mind at rest... when he saw it he was somewhat astonished and told me all was in order and asked me how I wished to have it arranged...I asked for a draft for 600 and another for 400 rubles on Warsaw and on Rome to send to my friends Nassau and Ribas and for another for 1,000 £ for my use and a duplicate of the order on Fitz-Herbert to send by post to London..."

August 25

"I was tired out (from a three day's trip which he made to the Province of Wibourg with his friend William Sprengporten) so stayed at home...I had a visit from d'Horta, who does not mix himself in low political intrigues... he told me that the Spaniards had sent off a Special courrier and Gayangos had received orders to leave without being presented to the Empress etc. ... I copied out my letter to the Prince Potemkin..."

"The tailor brought the uniform; a coat, cape, small clothes, etc., which cost me 200 rubles and later a sash for 56 r... to dine with Betzky where I found Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie by arrangement so we could go on the the House of Melessino, where we were invited for a grand function, which had as its motive the distribution of two Prize Medals by the little Grand Dukes... Aproxin, whom I met there told me I was to sup with Mamonow, etc. ... took Madame Guthrie by the hand and went to her house for tea where we spoke about literature, etc., ... I have such a great desire to learn English perfectly that I immediately bought dictionaries, etc. ... ... " Petersburg August 27 1787

"To dine with Prince Kourakin at the country house of Vilhiursky, with whose family we passed a pleasant time... then to take leave of Osterman... tea with madame Guthrie ... and to sup with Mamonow ... there I found Rivoupierre and Aproxin, who received me most cordially. ...later Mamonow came in and told me he had sent on my letter to Prince P...; he took me aside and told me to write to him often and said that he was my friend etc. ... afterwards we started to make fun of the Diplomats... just then Cobenzl and Ségur came in... when we went in to supper Cobenzl took a seat at my side and Ségur facing me ... we talked about architecture, literature and men of letters, etc. ... I knew that Mamonow was most pleased ... after supper Cobenzl and Mamonow played billards... Rivoupierre asked me in a most friendly manner where I was living so that he could come to visit me and told me to be careful where I went as I had enemies and asked me why I did not remain here, where I was so highly esteemed by the Empress, etc. ... we played billiards until twelve thirty when I went home..." August 29

" ... ... Sent my luggage on board of Sprengporten's yacht in which I think to go to Cronstat if the weather is good. Wrote to my friends and to the Governor and spent the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie... Sprengporten has made a memorandum for me in regard to Sweden ... "

Petersburg
Cronstat
September
4 - 6
1787

"Finally, my good Francisco came for me in a row boat with 8 oars and a cabin, which will take me to Cronstat for four rubles as the weather is bad and rainy... arrived after nine and went to see Admiral Greigh who received me cordially... and having read Besborodko's letter placed everything at my disposal ... ... "

"At six (p. m.) went aboard the Swedish galliot 'Anna Charlota' Capt. Hans Heuk bound for Stockholm ... ... "

CHAPTER IV

UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, A KEEN OBSERVER JOURNEYS THROUGH SCANDINAVIA, THE LOW COUNTRIES, SWITZERLAND, ITALY AND FRANCE TO ENGLAND. 1787 - 1789.

As he sailed across the Baltic on his way to Scandinavia, Miranda reviewed the events of the past two years and reflected, not without pride, that during these months in Russia, he had certainly accomplised *something,* at least, for the furtherance of his plans; the friendship of one of the most powerful Sovereigns in Europe—if not her sympathy for his cause—; a comfortable letter of credit and rather formidable credentials to most of the Russian diplomatic representatives on the Continent of Europe, were certainly assets of considerable magnitude.

What he really thought the Russian Empire could do, in a tangible manner, to bring about the liberation of the Spanish American Colonies, except with a donation of gold and a certain moral support, was not quite clear even to him. The first, he knew, was most difficult to obtain. But a recognition of these Colonies, once they were free, as an independent State, by such a Power would be an accomplishment of the greatest importance.

Although he had given serious thought as to trying to bring about a Russian-English coalition against Spain, he

was by now a shrewd enough diplomatist and observer of conditions, after his intimate knowledge of the politics of the Russian Court, to know that such a dream was well-nigh impossible of accomplishment. That Catherine, despot and absolutely monarch, whose power and sovereignty seemed to be the most secure in the world, expressed certain liberal principles and spoke, now and then, in favor of the independence of peoples, other than her own, was an established fact. That she was honestly against the Spanish inquisition was probably true, but that she would lend any open support to such an idealistic cause as was Miranda's, was more than doubtful. Should Spain become too strong and a real danger to Russian World Power, then something might be accomplished. Possibly Miranda had gathered this thought from the Empress herself or from Potemkin and Bezborodko.

Potemkin had been advised on several occasions of Miranda's idea that he might obtain help in England and England was his ultimate goal. And even though the Empress had showered her favors on him only through a personal interest in him and out of real friendship, she and her Ministers appeared to think that some time he might prove a valuable aid for their plans.

Although England was his final destination, he felt that he could employ his time for the next year, in a profitable manner, by visiting various countries of Europe and studying their forms of Government and the conditions therein existing and also in trying to sound their feeling as regarded Spain and her treatment of her American Colonies.

He was also confident that certain political information which he might gather in his wanderings in Europe would be valuable to the Empress to whom he was sincerely grateful.

* * *

So "Don Quichotte de la Mancha", as Miranda was referred to in a letter from Count Bezborodko to Potemkin, reached Stockholm in due course and immediately waited upon the Russian Minister at that capital to present to him his letter of introduction or rather "credentials". In his Diary he says:

Stokholm September 22 1787

"At 9½ a. m. I went to the house of Count Andres Rasoumowsky, Minister of Russia in Sweden to whom I handed my circular letter from the Empress and the private letter of Count Bezborodko. The Minister had me inmediately brought in to him and asked me to come to stay at his house, saying that it was at my disposal, etc. I resolved however to keep a certain incognito and left him as Prince Galitzin whom I had known in Petersburg, was coming to see him... Later I took tea with Count Rasoumowsky with whom I had an agreeable conversation until midnight. He is a man of noble thoughts and a friend of Liberty, a strange thing to find in a Russian! ... ... "

On his return to Stockholm from a trip via Upsala to the mines in the North, whither he went accompanied by M. Woukassovitch of the Russian Legation, Miranda visited the palace of Drottingholm and while in the Royal Library, the King, Gustav III, appeared and seeing that there was a foreigner there, retired and sent a page to say that he should continue to look at the books at his leisure. While still in the Library, the Baron Cederstrom came in and recognizing Miranda, asked him what he was doing in Sweden and why he had not made himself known to his friends, whom he had met in Petersburg. Miranda then told him that he had been prevented, by the steps he had taken to preserve his incognito, from asking permision to pay hommage the King.

As it was now known to Cederstrom that Miranda was in Stockholm and the King had been advised as to the foreigner, who had visited the Palace, Razoumowsky was requested to arrange for Cederstrom to present his guest to his Royal Majesty:

"I went out early with my servant to the Stockholm

'House of Industry' as it is called, which the King had charged Razoumowsky to show me and the Administrator took me all over it... in some rooms we saw many young persons spinning wool; in others, they were at work carding, etc. ... everyone seemed happy and interested in their work... I was told that this institution was the result of the efforts of Gustav III, who had purchased the edifice, etc. ... here work is given to all who have not been able to obtain it elsewhere, the materials being given them and they being paid a reasonable amount for their work immediately upon its completion... if they have no home they work here (but sleep outside as they can) and if they have a house they are given the materials, upon receipt of proper references and they work at home... If any beggars ask alms they are sent to the house of correction as it shows that they do not want to work... these two ideas are excellent to do away with the laziness existing under a monarchical Government. Some 1.500 persons are actually employed in this institution, etc. ... we visited the storerooms, accounting department, etc., all of which is well arranged and as I understand, is administrated by a Company from whom the King buys a large part of the manufactured articles for his troops; I bought a very good pair of woolen hose in order to contribute also to this work. I went afterwards to the book shop and bought a copy of Winkelman's 'History of Art', which cost me 9 rix-dollars ... ... "

Stokholm
October 17
1787

"I came back to dress to go to Drottingholm, as was arranged and after dinner started off and arrived at 4... I asked for Cederstrom, *en passant,* but he had not reached his house as yet... I went to see Mdlle. Stading, who told me that Cederstrom had asked her to say to me that I should await his arrival... He came in almost immediately and took me up a secret staircase, which leads from the Church to the Medal room and presented me to the Director who was there waiting for us. I had hardly crossed the room, when the King (who has apparently been waiting) came out of the adjoining room and approached me in a most affable way (although there was

something of embarassment in his manner); and Cederstrom made a formal presentation and His Majesty said that as I had been so well received by the Empress, he could do no less than receive me likewise... I apologized for not having requested to be presented on my arrival and for having been incognito and he replied that he knew all that had taken place in Petersburg. We then continued our conversation, he asking me questions concerning the voyage of the Empress; about my travels in Italy, Greece, Turkey, etc., geographical position of the Crimea, as to Chersona, etc. ... we then spoke about Spain, its decadence and extraordinary ignorance; the cruelty of Phillip 2nd ... the disorder in the finances in the time of Phillip VI (sic) who had not money enough to make the trip to the Escorial; the ignorance which we had as to working mines; (the King) said that the King of Spain had asked him for miners, whom they had to send, even though the populace in Sweden feared that they were going to mine iron and he had had to quiet them by persuading them that they were only going to work the gold and silver mines...: He asked me what I thought of his country... we spoke of Dalecarlia; its mines, and the contentment of the populace, their spirit etc. ... His Majesty then retired saying that it had been a pleasure to see one who was so esteemed by the Empress... It then being close to 7½ Cederstrom asked me if I would not remain for the play and we then proceeded to the Royal appartments in the Theatre... I was given a seat close to His Majesty and Cederstrom took a place my side... His Majesty spoke now and then about the play ... I took my leave after the third act with Cederstrom, who told me that His Majesty had enjoyed conversing with me. Then in the Devil of a torrent of rain without my servant .... I finally took my carriage and got home at 11½ where I recounted all that had passed to Razoumowsky—and then to bed".

Stokholm October 17 1787

Miranda stayed on in Stockholm as a guest at the Russian Legation until early in November. He was much impressed with Swedish culture and learning and particu-

larly with the various libraries and museums. His observant eyes did not let a detail of interest escape and every evening he found an hour or so to discuss what he had seen with his host.

Although Miranda was well received and met many people in court circles, the King seems to have become some what nervous at his presence in Sweden and instituted many inquiries about him—It is probable that the Spanish Minister, Señor Coral, could have obtained an order for his arrest from the King—if he had wished to take this step, but probably the protection given to him by the Russian Legation was too powerful a card to overlook.

It was a matter of interest to almost all of the Diplomats in Stockholm as to what course the Spanish Legation would pursue with respect to him and they informed their governments of his presence and activities —Which activities seem to have been particularly peaceful as he did not have any good opportunity to make public any of his ideas as to Spain and her colonies.

Miranda, furnished with letters from Rasoumowsky and other friends, left Stockholm the first week of November 1787 for Norway. He went by post chaise via Carlstad and Strand and crossed Lake Warmen on a ferry and on the 8th passed the frontier near the village of Mallerod. He described his trip through the mountainous part of Norway as being very cold but with most comfortable lodgings at night, and he arrived in Christiania on the 10 th, after a long sleigh ride, over bad roads.

November
Christiania
11
1787

"I sent the letter which Rasoumowsky gave me to Mr. B. Anker, who invited me to dine at the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Collet. He came himself at one o'clock and we went to visit the Governor Mr. Scheel, who, with his wife, an aimable and judicious person, received me most pleasantly (the Governor is a Knight of the Order which has a white ribbon with a line of red)".

"We went to the house of Mr. Collet, where there was a large company of ladies and gentlemen, among them Mr. de Colbiornsen, President of the Court of Justice—an

able man and well instructed; Mr. Martinau, the Swedish Consul, who appeares to have a good education.—We had a magnificent dinner at 3, with lights, which lasted until 5—we spoke of marine monsters, etc. ... ... of Norway, which they do not know, nor do they believe in more than we do ... ... the *elk,* they told me was very rare and for that reason it was prohibited to kill them ... ... after dinner I had a long literary conversation with Mr. Colbiornsen, which enlightened me greatly and with Collet in regard to commerce ... ... after a good supper, there were songs, good humor and agreeable conversation until eleven o'clock, when we retired ... ... "

"Mr. Bern. Anker came at 9 and we went first to the Public Library, collected by Deichman, which contains 8.000 volumes of very good books ... ... a good collection of minerals ... ... some medals ... ... copies in sulphur of antique carved stones, etc. ... ... Mr. Rosted, is the librarian ... ... to the Court of Justice ... ... to the Fortress... where ... we met Mr. Peter Anker ... to the citadel ... Mr. Brock, Lieutenant of Artillery accompanied us with great civility. The arsenal has arms for 30.000 men (there are actually 26.000 militia man and 4.000 regular troops) a fine view from the top ... ... I dined with Mr. B. Anker, at whose home where there was a brilliant company. Afterwards went to the house of the Governor, ¾ mile away, called *'Lagaardsoen'* (from the name of the island on which it is built)—here they gave a little play 'La bonne mere', in which Mr. Anker acted, and there was an epilogue in honor of the wife of the Governor, who has seven sons ... afterwards we danced, English square dances and a minuet, which I danced with Madame the Governor's wife ... Mr. Jas. Anker come here from hunting—we had a good supper. I was home at 12 ... I met there Count Rantzau, Captain in the (Military) Service, who seems to be a delightful person—and Mr. Gullenstiern—Lieutenant and gentleman in waiting".

Christiania
November
12
1787

Miranda left Christiania on a sight-seein trip of several days and visited Bragnes, Hugsun and Kongsberg. He also went to the silver mines at Lundoberg, and at

other places. On his return to the capital, he writes as follows:

" ... ... I went later in the day to the home of Mr. Colbiornsen where we discussed the literature of the country ... ... he also informed me that the annual commerce of the country was 6.000.000 Rix-dollars in exports and 4.500.000 Rix-dollars in imports... We went to the port where we saw some ten ships... over 1.000 (vessels) leave this port annually, with wood, for England and Holland, etc. ... This city has a population of 7.000 inhabitants ... ... "

" ... At two o'clock Mr. Jas. Anker sent his coach for me ... ... I had a visit from Mr. Gulenstiern and went to Mr. Ankers house where I found a brilliant and large company assembled ... The Governor, Mr. Scheell was present, who offered me a passport signed by himself ... Madame Scheell is very aimable and charming ... this is a very pleasant society ... The ladies sang and later Mr. Jas. Anker showed me his collection of guns ... more than fifty ... he is a great shot ... and offered to come with me as far as Moss to show me that establishment. ... he gave me many memoranda in regard to the country and letters for various persons in the most affable manner possible ... also a pair of boots for the cold, etc. ... It is a noteworthy thing to see the degree of *civilization,* of instruction and elegance in which these people here, live ... it is the result of commerce and communication which they have with England and Holland ... and from their travels to the most civilized countries, which, particularly the Anker family have made ... Mr. Kaas, a very civil and pleasant gentleman, also gave me letters for Copenhagen ... later when I reached my lodging, Count de Ranzau sent me a goodlooking servant girl (very attractive, she was too!) ... with a list of the Nymphs of Cytherea in Copenhagen ... ... "

Christiania
November
16
1787

After his short stay in Norway, Don Francisco proceeded south passing through various of the smaller Swedish towns, including Gothemburg in which city he spent some time, visiting the surrounding country and making friends,

particularly with an English family, Hall by name. During his Scandinavian sojourn, one of his greatest conquests was that of the heart of Mrs. Hall, of whom he became deeply enamoured, and he took considerable time and space in his diary to describe in great detail his amorous adventures with this very lovely lady.

" ... ... I went to see Mrs. Hall, who was awaiting me and declared myself by giving her a kiss, which she returned with all her heart ... I returned home, having arranged that we should go to-gether to take tea with Mrs. Smith ... her coach came for me at four and I went to the rendez-vous where she was waiting and she gave me my kiss!... pleasant conversation with Mrs. Smith, who shows some signs of education ... at eight we returned to Mr. Hall's house exchanging a thousand kisses en route and she asked me to lunch the next day ... I left without staying to sup... she gave me the English newspapers..."

Gothemburg
December
28-30
1787

"...To lunch at Mrs. Hall's...who is very upsetting to me...after cultivating a little tenderness, which I note is beginning to appear, I went home to write..."

"Early this morning to Mrs. Hall's with whom I breakfasted and at 10 took coach with Mr. and Mrs. H...to visit the country estate of Gunne Bo...we almost turned over on the frozen road... returning at 6; midway on the road the coachman made the coach lurch (*so that it was most embarassing*) we finally got out and Mr. H.... walked on ahead... Mrs. Hall stayed behind to permit me to kiss her and she gave me a rendez-vous for to-morrow at three..."

"I remained at home writing and at three thirty went to meet my beloved... no one was home (*and I had just embraced her*) when our bliss was interrupted by a knock on the door and there arrived certain French visitors, very frivolous and dressed in the prevailing Paris styles... I pressed her hand and she reciprocated ... ... "

"We dined at two and afterwards had tea and then very good music by the Countess de Cronstet, the best I have ever heard by a dilettante... (*we were never able to be alone for a minute*) Mrs. H. and I although we

both tried ... and we had to pass through this insufferable mortification when there was so much ardour of temperament ... ... "

"My loved one took leave of me at mid-day and begged me to write... my Clo... so dear and so sad at my going... O, what wonderful people... I shall keep certain remembrances of my beautiful Cloris... a silhouette and a medal which has her picture... also a little heart with locks of her hair... she took off my broach and pinned it on her breast and promised to wear it there forever....!"

Although her charms were many and her liberality great, Don Francisco felt that he could not forgo his travels, even for her *"beaux yeux"*, so he proceeded sadly on his way to Copenhagen.

Copenhagen December 23 1787

"At the Northgate, through which I entered (the city) they asked my name and an inspector was sent to inspect my luggage—Which he did not look at and took half a crown and left completely satisfied ... ... I took lodgings at the Hotel Royal in front of the King's Palace, kept by Thomas Shild—a German—an appartment with a sitting room—small bed room and a room for my servant without fire or meals—which cost me 40 Rix-dollars a month—3 marks for the table d'hotel without wine ... I dressed—took carriage and went to leave my cards on the Russian Minister, the Baron Krudner—who received me with great civility and after we talked a while insisted that I come to stay at his house.—Which I resolved to do, seeing the risk if I do not go. Madame Krudner (1) came in and

(1) Barbara Juliana, Baroness von Krudner (1764-1824), Russian religious mystic, authoress and Prophetess en titre. to the Czar Alexander I, was born at Riga. At the age of eighteen she married Baron Euchard Alexis Constantin von Krudner, sixteen years her senior. The Baron was a diplomat de carriére and Russian Ambassador to Vienna in 1784 and to Copenhagen in 1786. The Baroness possessed insatiable thirst for attention and flattery. She was limitless in her extravagance and involved her husband in financial difficulties. In 1789 she left her husband, temporaily, and while in Paris became involved in a love affair with a young French Captain of Calvary, de Fregeville, by name. She returned to Copenhagen accompanied by her lover, but she was unable to take up her old

insisted that I come that very night. So in order to please her, I set off to the Inn and put my luggage in the carriage... ... (Settled with the Inn-keeper) and came to the Russian Legation and we conversed in a most intimate manner from 7½ to 10 p. m., when after a light supper we went to bed".

"In the afternoon at 6, I went with Baron Krudner to call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Bernsdorff, who received me most graciously; he had already advised Krudner that the Empress had notified him of my coming, through Count de Osterman, the Minister of this Court at Petersburg, and also how interested she was in my wellfare, etc. ... He said that I could be most tranquil here and if there was anything of a distracting nature he would immediately advise me of it. Oh, what an admirable, generous and magnanimous woman! Later I spoke at length with this Minister about North America and its affairs of which it appeared to me he was well informed. We also spoke about Russia, and Marchal de Roumaintzoff, etc."

Copenhagen December 25 1787

"Christmas Day makes me recall my last five Christmases which were passed in such distants parts of the Globe: Havana, Philadelphia, off the Banks of Newfoundland, Florence, Chersona; and now Copenhagen ... ... "

"We dined at home and in the afternoon went to make a call on the Minister of Marine, Rosentkrantz, who was

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life and go back to her husband. They finally separated and he died in 1802. Of an exceedingly nervous temperament, the Baroness, during her wanderings through Europe, embraced the cause of "Chiliasm", (The overthrow of Antichrist and the reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years). She also entered into a study of the occult mysteries. In 1814 at Baden, she met Alexander the First of Russia and he fell under her influence to such an extent that she became his "Egeria"; she accompanied the Emperor to Paris and is supposed to have exerted great influence in the formation of the Holy Alliance. Finally, when the Czar awoke from the mystic trance in which he had been dreaming for some time, he tired of the indiscretions of the Baroness and cast her off. She died in the Crimea some ten years later while on a visit to the Princess Galitzin. See "Diplomatic Portraits", William Penn Cresson. 1924.

not at home. Afterwards we went to call on the Minister of Finance, Mr. de Shemelman, who, although he appears a little stupid in his mannerisms, is a person of extraordinary understanding and merit-he is still young and married to a young woman—who is not at all bad looking—Here we had tea and conversed as to literature with Monsieur and Madame, etc. ... ... "

Miranda spent the months of January and February and part of March in Copenhagen in the Russian Legation. Here he had certain confidential conversations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and continued his studies of the country and went, continually, sight seeing with his friend Anker, who showed him everything of interest—He found the king Christian III and his court dull and did not think that his Ministers took matters very seriously—Through the Baron Krudner he had immediate entrance into the society of Copenhagen and was constantly invited to dine and to take tea.

He found Krudner on the whole only a fairly pleasant host and not particularly brilliant or helpful and he took rather a dislike to the Baroness — She, he thought, was inclined to be disagreeable to him, for the reason that he had not fallen in love with her. It is of interest to note that the future Egeria of Alexander the 1st of Russia does not seem to have had at that time, for Miranda, at least, the great attraction, which her Royal admirer later found in her graces.

He noted in his journal the following:

"I went to see Mrs. Shemelman and there I found the Baroness Krudner, who was dressed and adorned like a demi-mondaine. If she had belonged to me I would have repudiated her from that moment... what a foolish woman!... It will only be, by luck, that she does not ruin her husband! ... ... "

Mr. Elliot, His Britanic Majesty's Minister to Danemark took a great liking to Miranda and was constantly with him—Miranda found him most agreeable and well informed but was not very impressed with his discretion. It was Elliot who advised him that he had had dispatches

from Sweden which mentioned him, by name and stated that the Spanish government was attempting to charge him with high treason and that he was reputed to be in the service of Russia.

Miranda wrote to Count de Besborodko to inform him of what he had seen and done in Danemark and also sent a copy of his letter to the Russian Minister in Stockolm for his information.

Count Bernsdorff, some time later wrote to M. de Saint Saphorin, in regard to Miranda's visit to Danemark as follows:

"I have been impressed with Miranda's personality: I have seen few men better informed. One would have more confidence in him, if his imagination did not from time to time, carry him beyond the realms of reality. He has certain qualities which make me think that the Spanish Court regards him as a dangerous man, during a time, when a great unrest is prevaling in South America, which is his native land; for which country he appears to feel strongly on account of the oppression and the unfortunate conditions prevaling there. It is certain that I have never seen a person better informed as to the programe for revolutions in South America, than he is and also in regard to everything which concerns it.—He is not partizan of the means or methods of revolution, but he is enthusiastic as to the basic principles of liberty, which in truth must appear sweet to the inhabitants of a country which is absolutely oppressed".

The confidential conversations which he had with various officials at Copenhagen had to do with South America and his own ideas and he notes that Ravenfeelt had sent him the *"agreed on Papers"* which were nothing but a statement of what had happened at Cuzco and Lima in 1781—also as to what took place at Santa Fe.

"At 8 p. m. we went to dine at the house of Mr. Shemelman, from who I had received an invitation. He
Copenhagen has a fine house.—Mr. Elliot, the British Minister came
December also—Also the Counts de Rewentlow, one of whom had
30 been Minister in Spain and the other is actually Minister

in England... There was an agreeable gathering and after dinner we went to the theatre with Mrs. Shemelman and Mad. Krudner; there was a Danish Musical piece, badly sung and acted but the orchestra is excellent ... "

"The Royal Family was present and it was most amusing to me to see the King, again, who has clearly all the marks of insanity; the Princess Royal is a good looking girl, although her *Danish nose* is just like a parrot's beak! ... The Prince Royal, her brother has his jaw twisted to the left, so when he laughs, his mouth is pulled to one side and he looks—as far as his figure and vivacity go, not unlike Don J. M. de Cagigal: Prince Frederick, the King's brother is a hump-back and extremely small, and has a ridiculous face! They also say that his wife, the Princess Frederic lacks a rib and a breast and I don't know what else! — ...Has any one ever seen such deformity in any one family! ... "

Copenhagen December 30 1787

" ... After dinner various people came to the house (the Russian Legation) to reherse the comedy 'Nanine' of Voltaire... Mme. Shemelman took the part of 'Nanine' but is not suited to it ... ... they finished about eight o'clock and then all of the *Corps Diplomatique* arrived ... Count Souza, the Portuguese Minister approached to be presented to me, he seems a pleasant and well educated man... Baron de la Houze, Minister of France, was seated next me at supper and tried to make conversation ... just at this moment the seat of Mme. Krudner's chair broke and the Baron who was seated at her side said in a loud voice, 'That's nothing, its' now a 'chaise percée' ... what an indelicate remark!... just what would be said in Paris... !

January 1 1788

"At supper Souza and his wife and I spoke about Constantinople and afterwards we spoke in Spanish.... whist and 'el hombre' or tresillo were played by the whole company and the party did not break up until after midnight... I talked a while with my host and hostess and then to bed..."

"I went to the house of Mr. Elliot, the British Minister, who told me what took place in Berlin when they took the

papers from Mr. Sayre and how it was discovered through the same papers that the King of Prussia had written a letter to him (Sayre) and Mr. Lee, as Agents of America in which he promised to be the *second* Crowned Head in Europe to declare them independent (the Colonies)..... further, in regard to the discovery of the papers (he said) that the British Minister made representations to the King that he would immediately withdraw from his Court, if these known American Agents remained an instant longer ... that this was contrary to his (the King's) wishes and he was furious to have to send them away but that he broke off negociations with them for fear of England... he also said that in the same papers it was stated that there had been various conferences in Spain in regard to the Pyrenees and that commissioners had come secretly from Madrid so as to keep the matter dark and not give offense to England, which country they were naturally attempting to dupe!... that it was also known that various members of the opposition in England mantained secret correspondants in America with the hope, as it was promised by the Americans, that the moment there was a change of Ministry they would come to an immediate settlement (of the difficulties bet. England and the Colonies) ... so one sees... that they (the British) were being betrayed on all sides!... Elliott also gave me various other bits of information... his truthfulness and astuteness are conspicuous... but he does not seem to have very good judgement or to be discreet! ... ...

Copenhagen
January 2
1788

" ... ... Together with the Baron and Mme. Krudner, I went to the Palace where there was a *Bal Masqué,* in the theater for persons of distinction... there were present the King, the Royal family, and all of the Court, with a brilliant accompaniment of Foreign Ministers, etc. ... the men were in Domino (white and rose were the dominating colors) and without hats; the ladies were in their usual dress without any kind of disguise—the King danced constantly, both counter-dances and minuets... almost without saying a single word and making faces with his eyes and mouth, *like an idiot!*... the ladies, who danced

with him have confessed to me that he squeezes their hands and some times says the most shocking things! no one ever answers him when he speaks... his son the Prince Royal (or Crown Prince as they call him) is a young man of nineteen, very active, with an exceedingly white complexion and a skin like white linen... his face is twisted, with the lower jaw turned to the left, as I have already stated;... and he moves so constantly that it is difficult to find him in a moment of repose in order to study his physical defect... but the Princess Louisa, his sister, who is seventeen is extremely attractive and has a very good figure, although she is a trifle small... she danced very well... Prince Frederic, the brother of the King, is a hunchback, very tiny and such a fop and dancer that it makes me believe that he does not realize the disadvantages in his person, etc. ... as a general thing they dance English square dances, one set in which there are the Royal Family and their intimates and another in which there are the other guests from the City ... The Prince of Holstein—Augustambourg, the husband of the Princess Louisa, came up with the greatest civility to speak to me, knowing that I had been in Norway... we had a long conversation in which I found that he wished (to find out about various things and) to instruct himself... he thinks clearly about many matters... such as the well-fare of the peasants in that country—its situation and the advantages for commerce, fisheries, mines, etc. ... we also spoke about Russia and the Empress and Legislation, etc. ... finally Krudner came to find me as Madame K. wished to leave... His Highness took leave of me with great graciousness and assured me that it had been a pleasure to meet me, I gave him a thousand thanks and retired... it being almost two a. m. ... ... "

Copenhagen January 3 1788

"..... I have just learned that the Minister of Sweden here is extremely upset because he believes that I had been sent by Russia to spy on his country... that I was travelling at the expense of the Empress, and he had been to the banking house of *Comirgks* in order to see upon whom, my Letters of Credit were drawn, finding that they

January 13

had been endorsed by Rasoumowsky and that I had not signed my name on them... for this reason he thinks that this is all true ... he does nothing but enquire if I admire the King of Sweden, etc. ... for this reason I am sure that he is acting under instructions from his Court ...as childish as it is nefarious!... Abbedyle has constantly tried to obtain information (about me) from Elliot, with whom he knows I am on friendly terms... and the latter has informed me of everything in confidence".

Copenhagen February 2

" ... ... At one o'clock I went to the house of Souza, whom I found working hard in his library. He told me, confidentially, that Lopez, the Chargé d'Affaires of Spain here, had shown him a letter from Corral, in which he stated that he had orders to ask that I be handed over to him in Stockholm, if he thought there was any chance of being able to accomplish this and under the supposition that I was in the service of Russia, on the charge of disloyalty and of being suspected of the crime of lese-majesty....."

February 22 1788

" ... ... I went to dine with Shemelman where there was a big dinner and I spoke at length with Souza who was also present...—and also with General Molck who had served in Russia, under the orders of Roumiantcow, and who from his manner appears to be rather a French *coxcomb*—I also spoke with Bautdissen who is a Lieutenant Colonel—he is the same man who killed Count Gersdorff in a duel in Dresden—the latter had a dispute in Madrid with the Prussian Secretary Fabre... Most interesting people and a magnificent dinner—After everybody had left, I remained conversing with Shemelman who informed me that they were going to bring about great reforms in the prisons and that I was responsible for this step—this pleased me very much—and he promised to write me when the regulations, which they were now making, were concluded... we continued to talk there until it was very dark (he told me that in Norway they had put him to sleep with two young girls in the same bed in order to be hospitable and all with the greatest innocence...)—this seems to be the same as the *'bundling'* in New England—I told him that Counselor Colbionsen had stated to me that this was also

precticed in Norway on Saturday night when young men were paying attention to young women, they accompanied them in bed all night... just at this moment Madame Krudner came in looking for me, with a light and we burst out laughing! She said that her husband was waiting for me to go to the house of Count Berensdorff ... ".

" ... ... I went to call on Anker at 11,30 and we went together to see the great ceremony, which takes place the first Thursday of the month of March, when the King in person presides at the Court of High Justice ... We first went where we found the Ladies of the Court with the ambassador Springporten, but finding that I could not see clearly, I went through the *mob* which almost tore our clothes off, to a small gallery for the use of the Court; I had to climb up with the aid of Mr. Abbedyle and Mertz and Kehauzen, who were there ... My friend Anker decided not to pass through and his clothes were torn by the crowd". Copenhagen March 6 1788

"*There was the King making faces* (what a personage to figure as the head of Justice!) on his throne, with the royal cloak spread over the back of his chair—the Crown-Prince was seated in a similar chair on his right and the Senators in two lines, also seated in their various chairs with togas of scarlet damask... The respective lawyers plead their cases and after they had made us leave the room, the vote was taken and the sentence given out, according to the majority vote... The King stated that he wished that justice, alone, should prevail and not his will... The truth, indeed!... If this were true coming from the mouth of a Sovereign!... ... I confess that the spectacle is magnificent and as interesting as that of the Emperor of China with his hand on the plough in the middle of a field—the Royal Family was present in the boxes—we left at half past two".

" ... My good friend Anker came to say good bye... I had a dispute with these rogues of postillions, in regard to the four horses which they insisted on my taking when I only needed two... I was occupied last night until two in the morning packing my trunk and arranging my things, without Krudner or anyone else in the house having come March 10

up to my room to ask if I wished anything or to see me; even though they had been playing cards up to three a. m. and it was not without considerable difficulty that I was able to get Krudner up, in order to tell him that I was leaving and to get the letters which he had promised to give me—*but he had not even written one of them*—and he scarcely said good by... and so I left this damned house of *dissipation and disorder*..."

Even though Miranda could not refrain from jotting down disrespectful remarks in his diary about the Danish Royal Family, nevertheless, he became greatly interested in Danemark and made many warm friends, with whom he kept in touch during many years.

In 1806, Shemelmann, who was again the Minister of Finance of Danemark, wrote to the Crown Prince Frederick as follows: "I often saw Count Miranda at my house and I knew him well. Vengance against the Spanish Government and the overthrow of her power in America were his principal thoughts. I know that, in spite of the fact he has passed through some of the most extraordinary adventures, he has always remembered this country with a particular interest".

* *

Leaving Danemark early in March, our "Don Juan" proceeded to Germany, where he visited various cities in the North, including Hamburg and Lubeck. The Danish Foreign Minister had not hesitated to give him letters to Danish Diplomatic Officers in various places and referred to him as a man of remarkable intellect and instruction. These letters procured for him an additional wellcome in many places and coupled with those to the Russian Diplomatic Service, which he carried, acted like an open seseme, where ever he went.

The copious notes which Miranda has left to posterity

in his description of his travels from the Hanseatic cities, on through Holland, Belgium and the Rhine country, to Switzerland and France, form a most interesting and ammusing commentary on the life and habits of the inhabitants of the countries visited, and the detailed acounts of his own amorous and other adventures in many places make vivid reading. Too voluminous are these diaries, alas!; and far too detailed to permit of their translation and introduction into this short resumé of the travels and experiences of the adventuresome Don; however, certain fragments of his diary, concerning his travels through Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, the Low Countries and on to Switzerland may not be out of place.

" ... ... Finally at half past 4 p. m. I arrived at Sleswick ... I went to the 'Hamburg Tavern' in which I could not find a room, as all were taken.—I then went to the Post Inn which I found very good; but Italian in style and with such immense rooms that one could only get warm with great difficulty in such a latitude as this".

Sleswick Holstein March 22 1788

"I sent my letter from Count Bernsdorff to S. A. S. Prince Charles, Landgrave of Hess, Field Marshall of the King of Danemark and Knight of the Order of the Elephant, etc. ... I also called on Mr. de Warnstedt, Counselor of State, who offered to visit me at 8.30, but as I wanted to go to bed, I put him off until tomorrow—I had supper and went to bed at 10, after writing the above".

"I had an invitation from the Prince of Hess to dine and to sup.—And at 10 a. m., seeing that Mr. Warnstedt, on account his occupations, did not appear, I went to the Cathederal in a very good *fiacre*—this is a Gothic building, in very good taste and architecture... ... It has a cloister, which is almost in ruins, quite like our monasteries—the congregation was neither numerous nor brilliant ... ... I came back to the inn to warm myself a little as my feet were almost frozen ... ... At 1 p. m. I went to the Palace of the Prince of Hess who received me extremely cordially. He was in his study and we spoke about interesting matters for more than an hour—a little

after 2, I went to the appartments of the Princess, to whom I was presented by General Koeppren and also to the young Princess and Princesses (the oldest of the Princesses is about 17 and quite beautiful). We had a pleasant conversation and I was seated at the side of Madame—and it is a curious thing to see the ceremonial which these Germans observe, and it made me laugh when I thought of the Court at Petersbourg and in England, etc. ... Their pages wait on them as they would on crowned heads, etc. ... ... Finally after coffee at half past 4, General Koepern, and I went to see the Palace, whose facade is modern and very good style ... ... From the windows of the upper story, we had one of the most beautiful views, which one can see in all the world! ... ... I left at 6 to see a Nymph, who was waiting for me ... ... At 7.30 I went to the Palace and found a large company playing cards—only the Prince was not playing ... ... he came up to me and we spoke *in English in regard to America* and political questions of importance ... ... he asked me if I would like to hear my *horoscope!* ... ... he told me things about myself over a period from eight to ten years, with out making a mistake ... ... at this moment they presented us our supper cards and mine was number three.—At half after nine they stopped playing and a Chamberlain read out the names from a list and I gave my arm to the Princess and we lead the procession. There were some fifty persons at table ... a very pleasant conversation ... ... we took our leave at eleven and the Prince and Princess were more than cordial to me ... ... home and to bed I found a letter of apology from Warnstedt written in rather fawning French".

Sleswick Holstein March 23 1788

" ... ... at seven thirty I went to the Palace and in the Drawing-room, where the Princess was playing cards, I was informed that the Prince was awaiting me in his room. I went up stairs and found, him waiting for me in his study; we seated ourselves, téte á téte and spoke about art and about Amer ... a, he repeated the horoscope of the day before and stated that England should understake just such an enterprise ... ... that surely

there was no cause more just and that he wished to embrace it with all his heart ... ... later we went in to supper and spoke about France and its finances, also in regard in the Cardinal de Rohan ... when we finished he approached me again in a most friendly manner and repeated his expressions of cordiality and affection and asked me to write to him ... I then took leave of Madame and the rest of the family, who showed me marks of their friendship ... ... "

" ... ... I reached this place (Lubeck) at 11 a. m. and passed the Customs without examination; and went to the house of the Danish Representative, Mr. Jessen, who lives in the Cathederal precints and to whom I had letters from Count Bernsdorff ... ... he received me with the greatest politeness and I was immediately given a room in his house ... at 12 Mr. Jessen proposed a walk to the 'Ramparts', as it was a lovely day and we had a fine view... at 2 we returned home, where we dined in company with Mlle. Jessen (a young woman of about 20) and his wife, who speaks a bit of French—, at 4 we took a coach and went again to the "Ramparts', to the part which is called the 'Promenade' and indeed it is one of the most agreeable walks and rides, which may be found anywhere ... ... we saw a great many good-looking girls and the *'belle sexe'* here appears to me to be remarkably beautiful ... ... there is a custom for mouring for women, which is to paint a black line on their foreheads down to the begining of the nose, which divides it in two, a most singular thing; at 5.30 we went home and accompanied by the ladies repaired to the home of Mr. Croll, who is one of the principal merchants of the city ... A large gathering of ladies and gentlemen ... but it was impossible to see any of them on account of the clouds of tobaco smoke, as each of the men smokes his pipe in the same room with the ladies ... ... "

Lubeck
March 30
1788

" ... ... I went to the Library of the City, which is open to the public and has 25.000 volumes, very well arranged ... ... there they showed me a most interesting relic, the clothes which Gustav Vasa wore and left here,

when he changed with a countryman, in order to disguise himself to go to Sweden and undertake the immortal rebellion ... ... home, where I went to my room to write this memo, and at 10 to sup with a few people who had come in to play cards, as is the custom; they finished at 11 and I took my leave of these most excellent people in order to depart in the morning at 6—as they say the road is very bad and the gates of Hamburg close at 6 p. m. (Lubeck has a population of 30.000) ... ...

" ... ... I reached Hamburg at 5 p. m. and took lodgings at the 'Black Eagle'... 'Klein Johannes Strasse' ... a bad room, as there were no others... dressed, dined and at 7 went to the house of His Excellency, Mr. Gross, Councillor of State of Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotenciary to the Prince and States of the Confederation of Lower Saxony, Knight of the Order of St. Wladimar of the 2d Class ... ... he received me well, as he had advices as to my arrival and I made him read the copy of the Circular Letter, which I carried ... ... but this gentleman did nothing but fill my mind with confusion and doubts and also a certain uneasiness, etc. ... ... to such an extent that never in all my life have I been so perplexed—I returned to my Inn most upset to think over the situation and to rest... in bed at 10 and my servant Andres locked all the doors ... ... "

Hamburg
April 1
1788

"Up early, and the bookbinder came to get my 'Treatise on Gardens', which I wish to have bound—at 10 Mr. Schram to see me he had been sent by Gross as I had a letter to him from my friend Rasoumowsky ... ... a pleasant person and very liberal, he gave me assurances as to the safety of my person and offered to aid me in this situation, for which I was most thankful!... he found me another lodging, close to his house ... and I had my things moved there forthwith ... I then went by coach to Altona which is only a gun-shot away from the glacis of the fortifications of Hamburg ... to call on *The Grand President Gahler* (who is about 90) for whom I had brought an offical letter from Count Bernstorff... he gave me a warm

April 2

reception—he was just about to enter the Court and I took my leave ... he sent me his servant to show me the neighboring country in the direction of the mouth of the River Elbe, which is most beautiful ... ... At 2 to Mr. Gross' house to dine; I found him more easy with me, for he saw that I had, with the aid of Schram and of the President, placed myself in my true position—God deliver me from arrogant and limited characters!—we dined *en famille*... he showed me his library, which contains some good books, but to look at him, no one would think he *had ever read any of them!* He sent his Secretary, Mr. Svetschin, a young Russian, to take me about the City (as the old fossil Gross, never goes out) and we went to the Junfer-Stieg... which is a Park agreeably situated on the little river Alster ... ... "

" ... ... At 2 to Schramm's which is close by... his wife received me with the greatest politeness and courtesy ... she is very good looking and the daughter, who is about 17, is also pretty. There were present, Prof. Busch, who is a contributor to the Press and one of the best informed men in the country; and a Mr. Meier, a man of affairs, who is employed in a bank and who is also very well informed ... also a business man from Brabant, who breathes opposition to the Emperor (of Austria) and is an advocate of Liberty ... ... I had an instructive conversation with these gentlemen in regard to the country etc. ... the Grand President of Altona came to call on me to invite me to dine next Saturday ... and at six I went to call on the Countess de Shemelmann, as I had a letter to her from her son, my friend from Copenhagen".

Hamburg
April 3
1788

" ... ... To the house of the dowager Countess de Bentinck, of whom Mr. Gross had asked an invitation for me ... she was very cordial ... a varied company of persons ... among them Count Rodde, the Prussian Envoy to Copenhagen; also Count Levenhielm, Swedish Minister here, who has been in Spain; he is the uncle of my friend Adlerberg of Constantinople ... ... I spoke with him a bit and found him predisposed in favor of the Spaniards... at the set hour all commenced to play cards—and Madame

April 5

the Countess had the goodness to tell me that she had refrained from playing in order to converse with me ... we spoke about North America and its personages such as Washington, etc. ... also about Holland where she has properties and I found her very patriotic ... She told me she was a relation of La Fayette ... ... "

" ... ... The son of Urcullu (Spanish Consul in Hamburg) approached me during the play desiring to make friends with me and offered me snuff from his box and speaking Spanish, etc. ... I never have seen any one so ridiculous ... however this is a proof that the orders of *Corral* were not as general as has been said ... also yesterday that silly *Rodde* stated that *Muzquiz* had arrived the night before and left the next morning for Copenhagen ... and that he had spoken at length with him... etc. after this I noted he came up to me and spoke with much more respect ... proof, also, that Muzquiz had not spoken any evil of me ... and here they (the Spaniards) have not taken the slightest step against me ... ... "

Hamburg
April 11
1788

"I passed the morning writing and at 2 went to the house of the Countess Bentinck to say good bye ... We dined *en famille* and she told me many stories about the childhood of the Empress Catherine, which foretold her future greatness—she also showed me a minature of the mother of the Empress—and also a magnificent picture of the Empress Maria Theresa, who was her great friend: she was certainly a good looking woman! ... I left her at half after six with many feelings of affection and tenderness, in order to take my leave of Madame Schemmelman ... ... "

"I wrote a great deal and at about half after five in the afternoon, had the pleasure to see the Guard of the Burgesses go by with their flags flying and drums beating ... ... They pass every day at about the same hour in order to take over the guarding of the Gates and Walls of the City, which, only during the daytime, do they confide to their (regular) troops (of these there are about 1600 infantry ... ...) it is a curious thing to see the dandified officers with their dress uniforms, covered with gold

April 19

braid—and in comparison to see the soldiers with every kind of a gun, covered with rust, ... one with a night —cap on and another with long trousers, etc. ... .. What happens is that each burgess of any position pays five—to seven Rix Dollars per year to the Captain of the barracks, who takes it upon himself to find a man to do service for them—and it so results that there are many substitutes from among the people, who live from this ... ... "

Miranda continued on from Hamburg by boat and post-chaise through Rotenburg, Ottersberg, Emdem and Groeningen until he reached Amsterdam on the second of May.

"I landed and took lodgings at the Inn of Tiebaut, paying 2 florins a day without meals,—I had my hair cut etc. ... ... and I learned that the Prussian Garrison had only left here the day before yesterday. I went to see Mr. Hope, who received me well and gave me letters from Mr. Penman and from Smith, which gave me great pleasure — Afterwards to the stock exchange — what a number of people—from a high window one gets a good view—there seemed to be about 4.000 persons—here I saw Mr. Brannsberg, who was very attentive—to my Inn to dine and afterwards I wrote letters to England. Then to the German Synagogue where the singing was beautiful— Later to the Portuguese Synagogue which was the most beautiful I have ever seen ... ... All the houses of the Jews were illuminated ... ... "

Amsterdam
May 2
1788

"I went to see Mr. Staphort, who received me well in his very lovely house and he informed me that Smith was about to leave for America and that my friend Mr. Parker was doing well in business, and was actually in Paris ... "

" ... ... At two o'clock I went to dine with Mr. van Staphort and his wife and a Mr. Shaw, of New York, who seems a very pleasant man—the dinner was frugal and the conversation was about politics and they told me that the credit of England was such that they had to-day twenty million, while France had only one".

May 5

*
* *

Miranda continued on through the Low Countries by way of Harlem to the Hague:

"I finally arrived at the Hague at 8.30 and took lodgings at the Golden Lion at Bustenoft and paid a florin for my room and a florin and a half for dinner ... I sent my letter to Mr. de Kalitchew who was not at home ... "

"I had word from Mr. de Kalitchew that he would await me, but before going there, I went to see'the Parade on the Plain', which took place with the same brilliant order and precision as it had the day before, but the Prince was not present, as he only attends on Sundays—the troops are indeed excellent!—What was my surprise to meet here Baron de Brentano, in civilian dress, who was walking with Madame Willis of Constantinople! I embraced him and we arranged to meet at my Inn at one o'clock... I then passed on the Kalitchew's house. He received me with great politeness, on account of the letter of the Empress... insisting that I come to stay at his house, but I did not accept as it did not appear to me to be necessary... I said that I would come to dine and then went home ... Brentano arrived and he told me that fifteen days before the declaration of War on Constantinople, he and St. Remis had been called back by France, on account of the intrigues of the Imperial Internuncio and the political *cabals* against Turkey of Mr. de Choiseuil, the Ambassador, etc. ... ... he said that Heidenstam and Ludolph were my good friends and that Madame Willis had come here on account of a law suit with her step-mother ... ... at three I went to dine with Mr. de Kalitchew, very quietly and we spoke at length of politics ... ... "

The Hague
May 26
1788

"Lunched with Kalitchew and found a special courrier about to leave for Petersburg so took advantage of the occasion to write the attached note to Count de Bezborodko, announcing my arrival here ... ... afterwards Brentano arrived and we went to take a walk in the delightful Wood

and spoke a great deal in regard to Turkey ... I dined with Kalit ... ... and then to a Comedy ... ...

Mr. de Novikow came at 8½ a. m. and at 9 we went to visit the famous anatomist Camper, who received me civilly and took me to his Cabinet where I saw a large collection of skeletons of men and animals, the best I have ever seen of its kind ... ... he explained to me with a great deal of ingenuity their conformation and the analogy which exists between the structure of the head of a whale and that of a man, etc. ... ... and also of the other animals ... ... he gave me a treatise in regard to the Dikes of Friesland ... ... and I took leave of my kind Professor, who asked me to come again and also to dine with him on Wednesday ... ... later I met Brentano and ... ... we went for a drive. Returning to his house we found that Mr. de St. Priest, the French Ambassador, had arrived that morning and that he was with his wife at the Theatre ... ... we observed that the populace was somewhat scandalized to see his servants walking about without wearing an Orange ribbon (we were told that said Ambassador had prohibited it in his household) and it seemed to me that it would only be a few hours before he would be insulted and possibly some of his servants assasinated—We went to supper and Segond came in and our conversation was on the impudent conduct of St. Priest and the designs of France ... ... my opinion was that he had made an error and that the populace would not allow itself to be insulted or would repay the insult..." The Hague May 31 1788

"At 6 a. m. Brentano, Blasiere and I took a Dutch chaise—and some provisions, etc., ... and having the advantage of a beautiful day, we started on our excursion and proceeded along the great dike of Oranisen-Sluisse... breakfasted in Maesland and went for a walk as far as the Meuse ... ... where we saw the herring fishing boats, which go as far as the coast of Scotland, preparing so as to leave before the 25th ... at 12½ (having passed Schiedam) we stopped to have dinner at Delfthaven ... at 2 we reached Rotterdam and went through the city and June 1

later on foot visited the naval docks, where we saw various war vessels ... we continued along a road bordered with trees ... ... Delft we reached at 5 and went directly to the new Church to see the famous mausoleum of William the First which is really a master-piece ... ... The monument to Grotius is near by, made of marble and badly executed ... ... After an hour we left for the Hague—the road is delightful with fine country houses on every side ... and wonderful wind mills of brick and wood ... Mr. Blasiere informed me that their cost was from 14 to 100 thousand florins ... there is one mill near the village of Ryswick, which we passed, famous for the Cytherean adventures which the late Duke of York celebrated here with the Nymphs from the Hague ... so famous it is that there is a saying to day, when referring to a young girl of rather free habits, *'that she has passed through the Mill'* ... ... I arrived home to find that Mr. Second had left word that two young Americans, Mr. Ruthledge and Mr. Shippen, who had come yesterday from Paris, wished to call on me ... ... I sent word I would see them tomorrow ... ... "

"I went to see Kalitchew who had just arrived (from Amsterdam) ... ... I then sent word to my Americans to meet me at 11 o'clock at the Art Gallery-Mme. Willis and Brentano came to meet me and later the valliant youths from South Carolina and Philadelphia ... ... they had already been to my house to see me and said that they had heard they families speak so much of me that they wished to know me—I charged them with messages for their good people ... ... we had a good talk about America and they left to take the boat for Harlem ... ... I remained to see the collection ... ... A shepherd and cattle by *Potter,* very natural and the best I have seen; a *Rubens,* and a *Brengel* ... ... to Brentano's (who I took to call on Kalitchew, to speak about the matter already broached... we talked it over and settled it in an hour) he tells me that St. Priest has sent a note to the States — General demanding an explication, etc. of Art. 6 of the Treaty with England or the suspension of its ratification ... ... to-

The Hague
June 2
1788

ETAT PRÉSENT

DE LA

RUSSIE.

à St. Petersbourg & à Leipzig,

1783.

Silhouette of Catherine of Russia, cut from life by Count Mamonow and given by him to Miranda in Russia. The original is pasted on the cover of a pamphlet, which Miranda bound with his diary - Vol. X. "Viajes". This copy appears in the "Archivo del General Miranda" - Caracas 1930, Vol. II.

night there has been a mob before his house, jeering him as well as France ... ... "

"I wrote to Count de Bezborodko suggesting that he take Brentano into his service ... ... and after comparing my letter with Kalitchew's we dispatched them to Petersburg by special courrier from London, who has just passed through here ... ... God bless the Empress ! ... ... "

The Hague June 6 1788

"To lunch with Kalitchew, who told me a great deal about the politics and intrigues of this country, showing me how absurd was the conduct of France here and particularly with Prussia, which country it has tricked many times up to the point of wishing to deny matters upon which her Chargé d'Affaires had already given official assurances ... ... they say that the King of Prussia has taken very strong measures: approaching England to help with a revolution and make a definite Treaty with Holland ... ... "

"Passed the morning writing and making up a packet of my *Diary* and *papers* in order to send them with a Courrier, who Kalitchew is dispatching to Count de Vorontzow in London ... ... so I may get rid of their care ... later I went to say farewell to Madame Willis and to Brentano and then to the house of Kalitchew to take my leave of him and get the letters which I still needed..." (1).

June 15

(1) From the following letter of introduction given Miranda at the Hague by Kalitchew, it appears it had been decided that on account of the Spanish government's activities against Miranda it would be best for Don Francisco to continue his travels under the name of Count de Méran, a Livonian gentleman of leisure, and a friend of Kalitchew. Later Miranda appears to have changed the name to that of Count de Méroff, and to have travelled through France to England under that title:

"La Haye, le 13 Juin 1988.

Me permetterez vous Madame de profiter d'une occasion de me rappeler á votre souvenir at de vous prouver combien je desire d'y conserver quelques droits. j'ose ainsi compter sur vos bontés pour vous recommender Mr. de Méran qui aura l'honneur de vous remettre cette Lettre est qui va faire la tour de la Suisse. Mr. de Méran est

The middle of June found our traveller continuing his leisurely journey through Rotterdam, where he stayed a few days to see the various points of interest that city had to offer, and which he had not had time to see, while there on his way to Delft with his friends, Brentano and Blasiere. He reached Brussels early in July and was greatly impressed with the examples of Flemish art, which he saw there. Also he noted his disgust at the cruelty of the Spaniards, during their occupation and was loud in his denunciation of the execution of the Counts of Egmont and Horn ... ... At Spa he met various friends and took the waters. Then on to Dusseldorf and the Rhine, which he describes in the most glowing terms and along the bank of that River, stopping at Cologne to converse with the Baron de Hupsch on historical subjects, on to Bonn and to Frankfort, to Strasburg and then through Schafhausen to Constance and into Switzerland and afterwards to the Italian Lakes and then to Milan".

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gentilhombre Livonien d'une famille distingués et il joint a celui beaucoup d'esprit et de conniossance ce voyagé avec fruit tant en france qu'en Italie. et je ne doute mullement qu'il justifie tout l'interest que je prends a Lui. Je ne pouvois, Madame, lui donner une plus grande marque de l'amitié qu'il m'a inspirée pour lui que de le mettre a portée de vous faire sa Cour et de meriter vos bontés. Je vous aurai une obligation personalle de celles que vous voudrés bien lui temoigner et C'est avec le plus grand empressement que je saissis cette occasion de vous offrir mes hommages et de renouveller l'assurance du respectueux et sincere attachement avec le quel j'ai l'honneur d'etre

Madame,
Votre trés humble et trés obeisant serviteur.
de Kalicheff.

A Madame
Madame Tronchin L'abaoz
á Geneve.

T. XXI, f. 154.

"At 4 a. m. left Castelana (15 miles from Sesté) where I passed the night at an agreeable inn; but could not have my tea there as they did not have the proper utensils. We went over a level plain—delightful country—mulberry trees, grape vines and maize—until we reached Milan at 7 — (18 miles further on) — over a very good road ... ... Milan Aug. 24 1788

"I went to the 'Imperial Tavern', but the Tavern keeper was still asleep, and so had to go to the *'Albergo Reale'*, where the owner was likewise asleep; however, I got a room, etc.—then dressed and ... ... to the *Hospital Maggiore,* which has a gothic facade ... ... a magnificent building ... ... at 12 to *Duomo*—some bar-reliefs in marble near the choir are good — to the Archiepiscopal Palace, where there were some good pictures ... ... at 4 to the Cathederal, where seated comfortably in a pew, in company with many persons, I heard vespers — at 5 to the Church Tower—a marvelous view of the greater part of Lombardy ... ... and of the mountains of Piedmont and Bergamo, etc."

To the public garden to see them play "ballone", which is a large ball filled with air, which is tossed and hit with a bat, like our *"pelota"*—the gentlemen of the place were playing, among them the Marquis Spinola of Genova ... ... who played well—The form of the ground (where they play) is like a circus—and people sit on all sides to see the game—and applaud.

"I then proceeded to make a call on the Marquis de Becano, who was awaiting me, as I had sent him word of my coming ... ... he received me cordially and we started to talk, and he was very happy to speak about America ... ... he told me that he had written his book when he was 26 years old, and that it took him less than a year to write ... ... that it was a great risk as the Inquisition was here also, etc. ... ..., that he had written other things, but feared to publish them on account of the Government, having his family with him, etc. ... ... he asked me about Franklin and I took leave after a long conversation ... ... he told me a singular thing to the August 26

effect that the Empress had had an invitation sent to him (to come to Russia) but the fear of despotism and of Siberia, of which he had heard so much, made him refuse her request, etc."

"I left him at eight, after a most agreeable conversation ... ... to the inn to write and at ten to call on a Nymph of Citherea ... ... the population of Milan is some 120.000 ... ... "

In the autum of 1788 Miranda returned from Italy to Switzerland. It was in Zurich that he met and became a friend of the famous Luthern pastor and advanced philosopher Lavater, (1) who through his literary and religious attainments was held in great esteem by many of the most notable men of the day.

"I went to call at Mr. J. G. Lavater's house, to find him awaiting me. We had a long conversation and spoke of Camper (for whom he does not have a friendly feeling)

Zurich September 5 1788

and of Hemsterhuis, whose philosophical genius he admits ... ... Lavater presented me to his son, who has just concluded his studies at Gothingen and whom he is sending to England. He asked me to look out for him there—as it was late I took my leave and he proposed a walk for six o'clock ... ... when I reached Mr. Lavater's home, I found he had certain French people calling on him ... ... on my leaving, Lavater asked if I would allow my picture to

(1) Johann Gaspar LAVATER, (1741-1801), the German Protestant pastor, mystic, writer and poet was born at Zurich and educated in his native city. He was known for his Sermons, which were extremely oratorical and ably presented and which made him a popular figure, throughout Protestant Central Europe. He was keenly interested in physiognomy and made a collection of the portraits of the interesting people whom he met. Hence Miranda's statement in his Diary that Lavater had sent his portrait painter to take his, Miranda's, likeness. Lavater wrote a number of works on religion and mysticism as well as on physiognomy. He was an intimate of the poet Goethe at one period of his life.

He died, after long suffering, as the result of a musket-ball wound inflicted by a French grenadier, while he was trying to plead for the lives of his fellow townsmen, during the French invasion in 1799.

be painted and as I could not refuse, he asked what time his portrait painter could come (to my inn).—I told him at 7 a. m. and then took leave".

"The portrait painter sent by Lavater came at seven sharp and in less than an hour and a half he had finished the portrait (a sort of pastel) about a foot tall and quite a good likeness ... ... Finally at ten, I finished dessing and went to the house of the Collector Schüchzer, who showed me certain curious pieces in his study and accompanied me to the Public Library, which is very well arranged, circular in form and of three stories; it is well lighted and has a fine view; it has 24.000 volumes of good books, which every citizen can read at home, by simply paying 2 *pages* (6 sous) per year. Among the manuscripts I saw certain letters written (in Latin) by Lady Grey in her own handwriting to the Theologian Bullinger of Zurich in regard to matters of religion, etc.—beautiful writing and correct style ... ... "

Zurich
Sept. 6
1783

"I took home with me works of Lavater in order to examine them ... ... "

"At six p. m. I went to call on Lavater, who had asked me to go walking with him, but we had hardly started to converse when a large company of gentlemen and ladies, some English persons among them, entered. I was surprised to see my friend Dr. Gardiner of London among them ... ... We then, all of us, went to the Lindenhoff Platz which is a very agreeable promenade".

"Up at five, with pen in hand in order to finish this... Lavater wrote me a note and we made a rendez-vous for one o'clock as no visitors come at that hour ... at one I was at his house and we were engulfed in conversation ... ... he told me that neither Frederick the Great nor Washington, was, in his opinion, more than an extraordinary man, the first; and a mediocre man, the second ... ... we spoke about the Empress ... ... he gave me a manuscript as a souvenir and also a book in German on *moral maxims*, together with many expressions of friendship, etc. ... ... finally at three and as people were coming to call, I left him to dine and continue my labors ... ... "

Sept. 8

" ... ... At eight I went to take leave of Lavater, who received me warmly and we philosophized awhile alone ... ... I gave his son the letter for my friend Penman ... ... he told me that *Fox* (Charles) was about to arrive here and that he was sorry for that reason that I was leaving the city as he was to go, later on, to Genova with his son ... ... I then said farewell and at 9 took horse and continued on my way ... ... following the shores of the Lake on a splendid road bordered with fruit trees—and country houses, ... it is really a beautiful picture ... ... after an hour we started to climb Mount Albis ... ... we reached an Inn at the summit and there I went on foot leaving the horses and taking a guide, which the pleasant and courtly Inn keeper gave me, we went to the heights immediately above, which command a view of all of the Lake—the City of Lucerne seemed to be at our very feet ... ... also, we could see the Glaciers of *Glaris,* the lake of Zug and an immense country side ... we went further up and through a little pine woods where we were in the shade but could see the magnificent panorama of the Lake ... ... here I read Milton's 'Lycidas' and the 'Amintas' of Gesner! ... ... "

Zurich
Sept. 9
1788

"Mr. Balthasar and Meyer came at 5 and with glorious weather, we took our boat at six and reached Luvelan before eight ... ... here we took some tea and milk for breakfast in the house of some peasants, most excellent people ... ... then, on foot, commenced our undertaking ... ... we climbed the path, with great enjoyment, and had a most beautiful view over Switzerland ... ... with wonderful weather, at about 12, we found that we had only about one league more to reach the summit ... at this moment the clouds, which were below us in the ravines, rose and we were separated and finally after shouting to each other, we were reunited ... ... What a marvelous view, to be sure! we could see below us a great part of Switzerland, just like the model of General Phiffers, the Lake, the City of Zug, etc., in minature at our feet ... ... twelve different lakes and on the horizon we could make out the Lake of Constance ... ... and the

Riggi
Sept. 13

high Alps and glaciers ... ... we stopped a long time enjoying the sight from all sides ... ... we started to descend by the side of Kusnacht ... ... which we reached at 5½ and took our boat arriving at Lucerne at half after seven ... ... "

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* *

From Lucerne, Miranda continued his travels through various of the Swiss Cantons and engaged in more mountaineering and other excursions. He visited Chamonix and from there went on the Geneva and later to Berne. Furnished with many letters of introduction from friends and acquaintances, he had the good fortune, almost in every place he visited, to meet the most interesting inhabitants and also other travellers, like himself, who were making the tour of Switzerland. In Geneva he was presented to the Swiss author, Mr. de Saussure by his friend Pictet and also to the daughter of the former, a very beautiful, as well as intelligent, Madame Necker, whose husband was a nephew of the French Minister of the Treasury. In their circle he met other literary persons of note and had most interesting discussions as to politics and letters. At Rolle he met and conversed with the great English Historian Gibbon (1) and was profundly impressed with his knowledge.

"Reached Rolle (3 leagues further on from the Valley

(1) Lytton Strachey in his "Portraits in Miniature", says of Gibbon:

"Happiness is the word that immediately rises to the mind at the thought of Edward Gibbon: and happiness in its widest connotation—including good fortune as well as enjoyment".

After certain difficulties, during his student days at Oxford, Gibbon went to Lausanne, where he learned French and became acquainted with XVIII th. Century European culture. From Switzerland he travelled over the Alps to Italy and in 1764, as Strachey relates, on the Capitoline Hill, "the impact occurred betwen the serried centuries of Rome and Edward Gibbon"; which impact

of Alaman) at 12 ... ... found good lodgings at the 'Crown Inn',—I presented my letter from Mr. de Charriére to Mr. de Severy, who came immediately to ask me to dine at his house and accompany Mr. Gibbon, who was staying there ... ... but I put him off until the afternoon and offered to go to sup ... ... Mr. Savery came for me at five and we went to his house which was close by ... ... there he presented me to his wife and to Mr. Gibbon, who received me most affably and thanked me, as he knew that I had been to call on him ... ... we had tea and talked at length about the literature of America ... ... afterwards there were cards and Mr. Gibbon payed a bit also ... ... while they were playing I spoke with a Dr. Favre, whom I meet here and who told me something about the family of Rivaurpierre and about Russia, pretending to know a great deal ... ... after cards we had supper ... ... Made. de Rieux, who is a native of Guadeloupe in America and who knew Voltaire very well, gave me much information about him and told me some stories ... ... she said he never played cards and that he was extremely economical; that he was fond of flattery

Rolle
October 29
1788

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resulted in producing the greatest history of Roman civilization ever written in the English language.

On the death of his father and in possession of a moderate fortune, Gibbon returned to London, entered Parliament and Society; and for ten years enjoyed the life of a man about town; White's, Boodles and 'the Club', also St. James' Street knew him as well as did Bath and Paris. At the same time, however, he produced the first three volumes of his History.

Finally, he returned to Lausanne, finding his means too restricted to permit him to lead the life, which he had chosen to adopt. In Switzerland he continued his writing and terminated his monumental work, in a very congenial atmosphere. According to Mr. Strachey, he fell in love with the future Madame Necker, but his suit did not prosper and he escaped the bonds of matrimony to remain a bachelor to the end of his days. He died in London, while on a visit to England in 1794.

See "Portraits in Miniature".
L. Strachey. London 1931.

to an incredible degree; and when the Emperor passed by here, Voltaire counted on his coming to make him a visit, and had prepared verses, etc. ... ... and when contrary to his expectations the Emperor went away without seeing him, it produced such grief and melancholy that he was ill for several days ... ... it was said that the Emperor had promised his mother not to go to see Voltaire, 'but in such a case', said Mr. Gibbon, 'he could have very well avoided bringing sorrow to such a respectable old man'..."

"At two to dine with Mr. Savery, where I also found Dr. Chandler, who had travelled in Greece, etc., with whom I conversed at length about that memorable country ... ... he told me he had come on a visit to Italy ... ... At table Mr. Gibbon told me that Count Aranda had stated publicly in Paris in respect to the case of the Inquisition and Olavide that the nation must not be blamed, as that was the effect of the stubbornness and bigotry of the King, etc. ... ... he told me that when an English nobleman had had his books confiscated in Vienna, in the time of Maria Theresa, he asked the Minister Kaonitz as a favor to him, to return them, and that the latter had replied that his power was extensive as to Governmental affairs, but when it was a matter of *prohibited books,* he did not even dare mention the subject to his Sovereign! ... ... later on I asked his opinion as to Fergusson's 'Roman History', and he said it was not worth while! ... ... that Watson's was very superficial and imperfect ... ... and that Guillis' very imperfect ... ... that the 'History of England' by Hennery was useful and well coordinated ... ... he, (Gibbon) is a man of below middle height, heavy in the upper part of his body and light in the lower; ... ... he is robust, however, and has a bright light in his eyes ... ... Mr. Gibbon gave me the portrait of Charles Fox by Lavater, a copy of a which I put in my diary ... ... after supper we had a long debate, in which he told me that England has lost nothing with the Independence of America ... ... with the exception of the £ 100.000.000 of Nation debt ... Mr. Severy told me that he had known Olavide, when he was here, under the name of Count de Piló, and that he

Rolle
Oct. 30
1788

never dared speak of the Inquisition ... ... such was his terror ... ... Later I took leave of this estimable family with much affection ... ... and went home at 11, to give orders as to leaving in the morning".

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* *

Leaving Switzerland, Miranda crossed the frontier into France and proceeded to Lyons. Then his wandering feet led him south through the Midi to the shores of the Mediterranean and on by coasting vessel to Genoa and as far as Turin.

Genoa
December
28
1788

" ... ... In the p. m. I went to call on the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia, Mr. Lisakewitz, to whom I showed my passport of a Livonian Gentleman, but His Excellency treated me with bad manners and did not even ask me to take a seat ... ... however, he did say as I was leaving, that if I wished to dine with him, the hour was 2 ... ... I went to a cafe and afterwards to a theatre (the first time it has been open this year) at 6½ ... ... there is a gallary in front of the first tier of boxes, and here only noblemen and officers are allowed ... ... my servant made me enter and when I was there, I noted that a vile old man started to ask the little Russian secretary and another foreigner, who I was ... ... they commenced to speak badly of me ... ... and I breathed a sigh of relief when I saw the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia enter a box close by, as I could address him in case of necessity ... ... but that gentleman did not even salute me! ... ... finally some young noblemen came up and started a civil conversation ... ... I saw several ladies with their *ciciveos* (accredited lovers), who spoke in the patois of the country. The theatre is not bad, the actors are inferior and the orchestra mediocre ... ... I went home at 11½, and the streets are so dark that I do not wonder that these ruffians assassinate people with impunity ... ... here and there,

is a *Madona,* with her lamp, but nothing more ... ... and this is the country of oil!"

"I reached Turin at 1 p. m. and took lodgings at the principal Inn "La Bonne Femme" ... ... I made inquiries at the house of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. de Karpow, (to see if he were in) but was advised that he was indisposed ... ... I went to see him at 6 and he told me to count on him in case of necessity, etc. Later there came in a Piedmontese lady and her husband (Mme. Morel) and some officers and we had coffee and afterwards a concert by amateurs, which lasted until late ... ... I entertained myself with Mme. who is quite attractive, and we looked at the various pictures in the nude, life size, which were in the room, they belong to Prince Yousoupow, the Russian Envoy, who it appears is very intelligent ..." Turin January 20 1789

"To the Cathederal, which is a poor building; ... ... then to the Reception Hall to see the King pass by to mass, which he does every day at 12 ... ... so many courtiers; so much show! ... ... quite like Spain! ... ... finally the long ceremonial procession started with His Majesty in the middle, in mourning for the King of Spain ... ... he has the face of a *fool!* ... ... his brother the Duke of Shablés with him and the Prince and Princess of Piedmont ... ... Then to the *Porta Sucira,* where there is a supply of water, to flood the streets in any quantity desired and to extinguish fires, as well as to clean the city—a very useful and helpful thing! ... ... to Mr. Karpow's at 6 where there was the same company as last night, the Cavaliere Balbé and others ... ... during the music, Mme. Mórel, with her usual aimiablity explained to me the position of the *'cicíveo',* which I wished to learn; this custom is as much in vogue here, although mostly under cover, as in Venice, as she explained to me ... ... " January 21

"The rest left at 11 and I showed Karpow the passport given me by Kalitchew, in order that he give me one like it, only changing the name, out of precaution for my second entrance into France ... ... but he did not wish to do it and roundly refused me ... ... is it from *ignorance*

or lack of confidence in me? God grant that there will be no serious results! ... ... "

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Miranda returned to Genoa in order to embark for Marseilles and sailed on February 10th, obviously without calling on the Russian Chargé d'Affaires who had treated him with such rudeness ... ...

"We left at 7 (the little port of Bandol close to Marseilles, where the ship had put in to wait a favorable wind and Miranda had disembarked and hired horses to take him and his Swedish valet Andrés to the city)—Andrés and I on horseback with a pack mule ... ... we

Marseilles February 16 1789

arrived at the 'Porte de Rome', (after dark from which place all of the Corso, as far as the *'Porte de Aix'*, is illuminated and produces a good effect, although the *Corso* itself is not as well lighted as it appears, because the lights are hanging in the middle of the street ... ... I went to my old Inn—'Hotel de Princes' and because I came on horseback, I had some difficulty in getting in, until they recognized me ... ... a very small room was all they had, but I took it ... ... I paid a Louis to my guide, who is one of the best of all of those who have served me in France ... ... "

"I had a box made to send the books, which I did not want, to England, and sent a note to my friend Favre, with two bouquets of flowers of Genova for Madames Favre

February 17

and Tronchin, who gave me their thanks and invited me to dine ... ... Mr. Favre came to see me unexpectedly and offered to send on my books to England, and to let me have what funds I needed. I am really overwhelmed at the kind action and friendliness of the man! Went to see him at 2¾ and found Madames Favre and Tronchin, who received me in the most friendly manner ... ... we dined together and passed a pleasant time ... ... Madame

Tronchin insisted on my dining with her tomorrow at her home, with the same company ... ... "

"At nine a. m. to call on my friend the Abbe Raynal, whom I found even more indisposed from rheumatism than when I saw him before, however, he is improving ... ... he received me with friendliness and affection and we started in to talk over matters of present interest ... ... I found him less confident than before ... ... he said that the nation was not yet *ripe;* and that the general ignorance which dominated, on every side, was incredible ... ... that in proportion, there were more educated persons in Germany and even in Italy, than in France!... ... and that he feared that the actual state of affairs might be changed, just as the *styles* are changed, in the same way as everything is done in France! ... ... he told me of what he had seen in Paris, when *Agriculture,* was all the mode ... ... all of the ladies' dressing tables were covered with books on farming, etc. ... ... to such an extent that one might have thought that all the nation had turned *farmer* ... ... and in six months time the style had changed and all had dissapeared just as if it had never existed! ... ... at another time *Education,* was the rage so much so that Rousseau's book *'Emilio',* and every thing connected with it was in evidence on all sides ... ... the style then changed and all was forgotten, just as on the other occasions! ... ... and my good Abbé added 'you will see that these matters will change in the same way ... ... the country is not yet *ripe!* '... ...' is it not shame?' he said, 'that as yet there has not appeared any article (as to actual Conditions) by any man of letters, among the number, who are in Paris ... ... they all have pensions and they would rather see the World perish, before sacrificing their own incomes' ... ... "

Marseilles
February
19
1789

"The speech of Necker, (1) seemed to him too

(1) Jacques Necker (1732-1804) Finance Minister and Director General of the Finances of France, under Louis XVI, was born at Geneva, and after studying law in Switzerland, entered a bank in Paris, where he later founded the famous banking house of Thellusson and Necker, and became rich through loans to the Government

timid ... ... later he spoke to me at length concerning the talents of the daughter of Madame de Stade ... ... at this moment the Viscountess de Besse came in, she is young and good looking and appeared alone and without even a servant, to make him a visit and gave him a kiss and if the Philosopher had not been infirm, I would have suspected something! ... ... so, whatever it might have been, I took my leave and left them alone to their *téte á téte!* ... ... To the Hotel de l'Empire, where Madame Tronchin lives ... she gave us a magnificent dinner ... seasoned with the most agreeable conversation ... ... at six we went to the Theatre where the famous *La Rive*, gave us 'Tancrede' by Voltaire ... ... quite good and one cannot deny that he is an excellent actor ... ... I returned to my Inn and left the ladies who were going on to a ball ... ... "

Marseilles February 25 1789

"..... later on I went to call on the Favres, where we took tea and had a most interesting conversation ... the excellent Madame Tronchin went to write a letter for me and to send me some books for the journey ... ... and the three of us remained talking ... ... Madame Favre showed me a letter she had just received from Madame Necker, full of good advice and *sound philosophy;* we had supper and I remained with these most estimable friends

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and speculations. He married in 1764, the daughter of an impecunious Swiss pastor, to whom Edward Gibbon, the historian, had been engaged. Mme. Necker had great charm and unlimited ambition and established a famous literary, political and financial Salon in Paris, and spurred her husband on to seek public office. In 1776, Necker became the Finance Minister of Louis XVI, and did great good for the finances of the country, although he was charged with dealing with the problems of the time rather as a banker than as a political economist. He fell from office in 1781, and spent several years in retirement with his daughter, who later became Mme. de Stael. He returned to office in 1788, but although he weathered the first stormy year of the Revolution by summonsing the States General, he was forced to retire in 1790. He outlived his wife and died at Coppet near Geneva, while being cared for by his daughter Mme. de Stael and his niece Madame Necker de Saussure, to whom Miranda refers as having known in Switzerland.

until 11, when, with mutual expressions of friendship we separated ... ... and I went home to settle my affairs so we could leave at day break ... ... "

It was now the end of February, when the Count de Meroff, that *soi-disant,* Livonian Gentleman, left Marseilles and travelled by comfortable stages, north, through Provence. In that smiling land the first signs of Spring were to be seen and he reveled in the enchantment of the country side and enjoyed to the full his visits to the Roman ruins at Arles, Nimes and at Narbonne.

When visiting the Benedictine monastery at the little town of Sorez, which lies between Narbonne and Toulouse, he was asked for his name and from what country he came, by the good monk, Dom Zalla who acted as his guide. Miranda notes in his Diary; 'I told him I was Mr. Meroph from Maryland' ... ... From Toulouse, where he stayed for some days visiting the port and studying the various churches and other points of interest, he took a boat for Bordeaux (1), arriving on the 21 st. of March.

"Rain and a frightfully bad day; I stayed in reading and bought some now books—I sent my letters from Pictet and Favre to Mr. Barde, the partner of Messers Duret de la Plane and to Messers Boyer, Merler and Zimmerman; at 5¾ I went to the Theatre, which is in front of the Hotel, which is a fine building ... ... they gave the 'Fourberies de Scapin', and I really did not recognize the work of the author of 'Le Misanthrope' ... ... after a superb ballet of 'Cupid and Psyche', with all sorts of mechanical devices, about the best I have ever come across (the work

Bordeaux March 22 1789

(1) Bordeaux (Burdigala) was originally the chief town of the Bituriges Vivisci. Under the Roman Empire it became a commercial city of importance, and in the 4th century was made the capital of Aquitania Secunda. After the disintegration of the Roman Empire, Bordeaux did not recover its prosperity until the 10th century. From 1154 to 1433 it belonged to the English Kings and was the seat of the court of the "Black Prince". It was the scene of slaughter of many protestants during the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was the headquarters of the Girondists during the French Revolution.

of Mr. Doberbal), his wife Madame Doberbal danced most wonderfully with such grace and elegance as I have never seen before ... ... "

"All the morning in the house, as it is frightful weather, rain and wind ... ... I find Mr. du Clos's (book) much to my liking, especially his conclusions and where he says that this Nation (France) has passed from infancy to decrepitude, without ever having reached maturity! — at four to Chartrons ... ... to call on Mr. Boyer, who came to visit me last evening—he appears to be an excellent old gentleman and has offered me a letter for Brest—I also passed by the residence of Mr. Barde, who lives close by—then to the Theatre ... ... they gave a musical piece which the Devil him-self could not have stood; but *the Doberbal* danced like an angel (she makes, together with her husband 24.000 francs a year) and the second *danseuse*, who is called *Medina,* does not dance badly and is the only Spanish (artist) of any merit whom I have seen in a foreign country ... at home at nine to read Rousseau and Duclos, both of whom are in accord as to the character of this Nation ... ... "

Bordeaux
March 23
1789

"Notwithstanding the evil weather, which continues, I went out this morning to see the Assembly of the *'Tiers-Etat',* which is close to the church, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, but they refused to allow me to enter, as no one is admitted ... ... I then proceeded to the *Palais* (de Justice) ... ... it is an ancient building, which was the Palace of the Dukes de Guise—they let me in the gallery (for a tip) and I had a good view ... ... one case which was being tried was that of the carrying off a Basque woman, who was married and had children; perfectly ridiculous! ... ... the Presidents wear scarlet *Togas* and the other (Judges) black ... ... "

March 24

"Mr. Barde came to lunch and we went to the *'Porte-Basse',* as it is called; it was constructed within a Roman wall, of large stones, joined without cement, just like the amphitheatre at *Nimes* ... to the Cathedral ... which was half destroyed by fire and which contains but little of interest. Then to the Monastery of St. Bernard ... ...

here we asked the monks for the tomb of Montesquieu, but after a consulation among themselves, they told us that he was buried in Paris, where he had died ... ... "

"I passed the morning at my writing table ... ... and after dinner Mr. de Saleneuve came to take me to the museum, where we found a number of men of letters and remained with them (talking) for some time. Among them were Mr. Saige, a Barrister, who seems to be an intelligent person, also a Mr. Pontet ... ... at 7½ I had to leave to go to the Theatre in Mr. Boyer's box, as he had sent me a ticket as well as an invitation for a formal supper ... ... The Theatre was crowded as this was the last perfomance of the season. They gave the opera 'Armida' by *Gluck,* very badly sung—but good stage effects ... ... and Madame Doberbal, who danced better than ever! ... ... her feet are a bit large, I am sorry to admit! From the Theatre we all went out to Mr. Boyer's home at Chartrons, where we found quite a large gathering ... ... A Count de Galowkin, a man of about 70, married to a Dutch lady of about the same age ... ... Galowkin wore the Grand Cordon of the White Eagle of Poland which put all their noses out of joint! ... ... we went in to supper at 10½—a table with 24 places, and with as much show and luxury as at the most extravagant Court! Madame Schikler, a young married woman, had on diamonds which were worth over 400.000 crowns, so they told me ... ... Madama Bonnafé also wore many jewels ... ... and all the others, as well ... ... the men are all fops (*petrimetres*) and a Dutchman, a Mr. Meyer, was just like a monkey and so affected in his French that he was worse than all the rest! ... ... I *never* have seen anything like it! ... ... Finally, I paid strict attention to what was being said at the table to see if I could make any sense out of their conversation, but, truthfully, there was not one *grain* of sense in any of it!—They told me that none of these suppers cost less than 50 Louis ... ... and it seems to me that *Rousseau* was right when he said that *'luxury destroys hospitality'* ... ... these people are ruining themselves in a perfectly *mad* fashion, and not

Bordeaux
April 4
1789

doing themselves or anyone alse any good by it all ... ... after swallowing their food, they get up from the table, with out saying a word, and rush off to the card tables!— I tried to make some of the ladies who were seated near me, talk, but they avoided conversation and did not reply as they have nothing to say! ... ... they are so covered with paint as to be really indecent! ... ... finally, I was left to myself and as I had finished my observations I went home at 11½".

Bordeaux April 5 1789

" ... ... we saw the Port (from the Bell Tower) but it is not nearly as fine as Mr. Dutens and other adulators try to make out ... ... they go so far as to say that it looks very much like Constantinople ... ... which is absurd ... ... the river is twice as narrow as the Thames at London, and it has no dock, only its banks are paved with stone ... ... we took a coach from here to the 'Allée de Tourny' and I left Mr. Barde at his house and called on Mr. Saleneuve with whom I spent some time ... ... later on to Mr. Barbier's, where I met some other members of the assembly of the 'Tiers-Etat', with whom I passed an hour or so hearing the talk of the day ... ... "

"My friend Mr. Barde came at 10 and we went to the Customs House, where I noted a great deal of merchandize which had been ruined or spoiled on account of the absurd examinations they make of closed boxes, etc. ... ... we visited the offices where a multitude of clerks live, in a opulent manner as can be seen ... ... "

Later we proceeded to the Academy of Sciences, it has a large salon, which contains the Library, and also serves for a meeting room in summer (there are some 20.000 volumes) ... ... to the Observatory, from which place we had a fair view ... ... all the instruments, etc., are out of order ... ... Then the custodian showed us the Museum, which is being prepared for natural history — here we saw an excellent bust in marble of M. de Montesquieu, by le Moyen—París 1767—taken from a medal, so I was told ... ... Mr. Saleneuve came for me in the afternoon and we went to the Musem, where we had a

long conversation with Mr. Perry, the Treasurer, who is most learned and also a great wit! ... ... we saw the paintings and he showed me some excellent engravings and a wonderful edition of Boileau, Telemarque, etc., made in Holland ... ... "

"Mr. de Saleneuve passed by for me at 11 and we went to find Mr. Perry, and after looking up certain data in the academy, we proceeded to the Botanical Garden, which is outside of the city. There in a square, we found many ancient monuments, mostly mutilated, which the Inspector had had brought here, when they were taken from the ruins on which the Comedy Theatre was built ... ... they consist of certain stones, pillars and altars, with inscriptions in Latin; in one could be read the words *'Augusto Sacrum'* ... ... also four statues of marble of more than life size in the costume of a Roman Consul—very well done, but without head or hands ... ... it is a shame that they do not start a museum of sculpture with these objects ... ... Home to pick up Messrs. Barde and Duret, who were waiting for us to go to Chartrons to dine ... ... While at Mr. Duret's we arranged a trip for tomorrow, together with Barde, to visit the *Chateau de la Brede,* where Montesquieu (1) was born and lived ... ... later

Bordeaux April 7 1789

(1) Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brede et de Montesquieu, the great moderate reformer of France, was born at La Brede, some ten miles S. E. of Bordeaux in 1689. He came of a long line of lawyers and on the death of his uncle, from whom he inherited his fortune and estates, became the judicial counsellor to the Parliament of the Province. He was chosen as the President of the Bordeaux Academy and held this office for some years and contributed papers on politics, philosophy and the natural sciences.

His early work, "Lettres persanes", the supposed writings of two Persian gentlemen, travelling in Europe was the first book of the "mouvement philosophe" in France and was widely read.

Some time later he started on his travels and after an extended sojourn in other European countries and in England, he returned to la Brede and wrote his intermediate work "Grandeur et decadence des Romains". It is said that no book of the XVIII th. century contained, in proportion to its size, so much weighty and original thought on historical subjects, as did this work. It was published in Amsterdam in 1734.

I had a card from Mr. de Secondat (the son of Montesquieu), giving us authority to visit the castle ... ... "

"Barde came at daybreak and in a post chaise with two horses (which cost us 15 francs both ways), we left at 5½ over a badly paved and later a sandy road to *Prade* (3 leagues) ... ... here we left the chaise as the roads are practically impassable, and went on foot to *la Brede,* a village of some 150 souls, which is a ¼ of a league from the high road ... ... a little further on in the center of a large and thick wood, we could make out the Chateau of Brede, surrounded by a wide moat of ruining water: its shape is that of a regular polygon ... ... it has a high watch tower and other small towers which form a protection for the principal gateway, which is entered over three draw bridges, over three separate moats ... ... just as they describe the dwellings of the feudal barons ... .. we found a young woman of about 20, who took us over the whole place, showing us first the dining hall, and close to it a small room, in which M. de Montesquieu was accustomed to sit in front of the fire after dinner. She showed us, on the pillar of the fire place, the mark of his foot on the stone, made when he used to support his foot on it in order to write his notes on his knee ... .. as very often ideas occurred to him at odd moments ... ... we went upstairs and on the top floor there was a great Gothic room with a fire place and also an iron stove,where there is his library ... ... on small wooden shelves, badly made ... ... there are the Greek and Latin poets, history of medicine, etc., ... I judge there are about 4.000 volumes ... ... we visited the room where he was born

Bordeaux
April 8
1789

It was not until 1743 that he began to write his monumental work, "L'Espirit des Lois", which consists of thirty-one books and covers an enormous range of subjects such as, customs, laws, government, geographical conditions, religion, etc. As this work was critical, it produced for him enemies and was put on the Papal Index, but it caused an immense furor in Europe and other countries and was almost the first public attempt, which had been given to humanity, to interpret tolerant and sane views on human happiness and improvement. Montesquieu died in 1755 at the age of sixty six.

and the one in which he slept and his study next to it, where he wrote ... ... with the chairs, beds etc., just as they were then, since on account of the indolence of the son, no one had touched anything ... ... the apartments of the latter are in front of the father's ... ... we climbed the old tower and found traces of an ancient prison ... ... on our return, we again visited the library and the living quarters of the immortal Montesquieu ... and I looked out of the windows to note the objects which were ever before his eyes, to see if in any of them could be discovered (the secret) of that energy and vigor, which animated his writings! ... ... there is no doubt about it, the place is wild and lonely; but the meadows and the water, which surround the Castle, soften the aspect very considerably ... ... the walls are more than seven feet thick ... ... the wood work is solid and the tapestries and furniture of an ancient style ... ... and I could not gaze long enough at the spot, where the most brillant work of the human mind was produced ... ... we then walked about the grounds outside of the Chateau ... ... the property is considerable ... ... in woods, fields, etc. ... we then, retraced our steps over the same road (in some 20 minutes) to the Inn ... ... I asked the landlady if she had known M. de Montesquieu; she said that *she* had not known him but that her mother had known him and spoke of him often ... ... she said that when he passed by, he always spoke to the peasants whom he met ... ... with the greatest familiarity ... ... that he gave fêtes at the Chateau for the gentle folk of the neighborhood, with whom he enjoyed conversing ... ... that almost all of the year, winter and summer, he was at La Brede ... ... (which accounts for the stove in the library) ... ... and that when any of the peasants had any troubles he (Montesquieu) went to Bordeaux to set them right ... ... at 11½ we left ... ... and took the left hand road to see the vineyards of Mr. de Fumel, the Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of this Province ... ... Back at my Inn at 4, where we found dinner ready ... ... afterwards I read about Montesquieu ... ... Mr. Barbier and

Bordeaux
Chateau de
la Brede
April 8
1789

Bordeaux
April 8
1789

later Mr. de Saleneuve arrived and told me that the members of the Academy ... ... were waiting impatiently for me ... ... I proceeded there in riding boots ... ... just as I had come from the country ... ... the Vice-President, Mr. Pontet, presented me to those present in the meeting hall ... ... only the members of the Commitee were there ... ... an Abbot, Professor of Sciences, made some comments upon the life of Montesquieu, very fatuous and ridiculous ... .. after he was silent, the meeting was called to order to read a letter from the President of Parliament ... ... then a poem was read, which in my opinion was quite good, but they put it aside after only a very casual reading ... ... they then asked my opinion, but I excused myself (from giving any) ... ... after this we had an erudite conversation and Mr. Larroque, Professor of Mathematical Sciences, told me that he had known M. de Montesquieu; that he was a lean and tall man and that he did not look at all like the bust which is in the Academy ... ... that at the time of his death in Paris, the Irish Jesuit Priest, Rooth, tried to force him to give him certain manuscripts, which he (Mont..q...u) had under his pillow, but at that moment the Duchess d'Eguillon came in and Montesquieu said to her 'Madame, I give all (of these papers) to you and nothing to the Society (of Jesus)' ... ... this corroborates, in a way, what Bonet told me at Geneva ... ... Mr. Perry, the Treasurer made half a dozen puns ... ... and then there were read several letters, which had just arrived from Paris ... ... about the dispute which Guibert had had in the Provincial Assembly of N... we took our departure and heard the noisy debate going on in the Assembly of Nobles of this Province which was meeting in the great hall of the Museum, for the purpose of electing their representatives to the States-General ... ... "

Mr. Barde came to fetch me and we proceeded to the landing stage, where we took a boat and crossed the river (la Garonne) to a small place called 'La Bastide', from which we had a view of the City and the Port ... ... nothing very particular! ... ... then on to the village

of Cenons . . . . . I noted the vineyards on the plain . . . . . the vines grow some five feet high on *perpendicular* trellises . . . . See Mr. Barde's Memo . . . . which is attached . . . . he is well up on the subject as well as on the prices of wines, etc. . . . . we re-embarked at La Bastide and I noted in the river the English and American ships unloading wheat; they informed me here that without this aid and the *bounties,* which Mr. Necker has given for this purpose, the country would be in a calamitous state! here is seen a proof of the flourishing condition of the agriculture of England, which, although, it is small and more populous, also nourishes the inhabitants of France! . . . . . "

" . . . . . to call on Mr. Secondat, who at last received me!—he is an infirm old gentleman of more than seventy-four, but he does not lack either judgment or memory! although almost in his dotage . . . . . he told me that Montesquieu was born in the Chateau de la Brede . . . . . ; that the smallpox had injured his sight; that he had been educated at the convent of the Péres de l'Oratoire in Paris, (which he did not like) ; . . . . . that he did not know Greek, but did know Latin and English, but did not speak (the latter) ; that he married very young; and travelled some three and a half years . . . . . out of which he passed 20 months in England . . . . . that he lived most of the time at la Brede, and went frequently to Paris, but little to Bordeaux . . . . . that he was of medium height . . . . . 5 feet 2 inches . . . . . rather light complexion, but neither blonde or brunette and of a happy nature . . . . . he assured me that the story of the Jesuit Rooth and the Duchess d'Eguillon was true . . . . . that he had arrived immediately after the death (of his father) in Paris and that the manuscripts had been handed over to him, and that it was incredible, the steps taken by the Jesuits to obtain them; etc. . . . . I asked him why he did not publish them but he said that his father, like a good philosopher, had taken good care of his books but little of his property . . . . . that it had been his intention (to publish the manuscripts) but that the Domaines du Roy

Bordeaux
April 12
1789

had caused him lawsuits and much expense and made it impossible ... ... (the real fact of the case is that Mr. Secondat it indolent and a bigot!). I asked him what the *Mss.* contained and he said 'certain reflections on Italy', which he had made during his travels; material on various subjets and for the termination of the 'Espirit des Lois' which appeared to him to be of little importance! ... ... as it was late, he proposed that I stay to dine with him and his wife and son, but as he was ill, I took my leave, giving him my thanks for his kindness ... ... "

Bordeaux April 12 1789

"In the evening we went to the house of Madame Baour, where there was a large company ... ... I had a long conversation with this most sensible woman, who told me that the situation was such that they could not send their sons into good society, as *gambling* was the principal occupation; ... ... that they were on the edge of a precipice ... ... and flying from danger; that not so much in the theatres, but in the houses of decent people was there *debauch!* She told me anectotes of Montesquieu, as to how he had forgotten his wife and left her in his carriage when he went to call on a lady and spent four hours ... ... the other when he went to a Masked Ball in costume, that he forgot to put on his mask and carried it in his hand! ... ... we supped in most agreeable company and at 11½ I took leave most affectionately of these excellent people ... ... "

April 13

" ... ... Mr. Barde came with the news that my chaise had been put on board and that all was ready ... we had a cup of tea, and went to the landing stage ... ... I embraced this good friend and set sail at 9 a. m. with a contrary wind and in the rain ... ... when we were in front of the city, a boat came along side with 5 persons, who had come too late to the dock and asked that we take them to Blaye ... ... out of humanity I asked the captain to take then on board ... ... but when they reached the deck, they commenced to play the buffon and climbed all over my chaise, so that I had to order them off, and they started to insult me—these French! ... ...

we nearly had to put them ashore! ... ... Reached Blaye at 2 p. m. ... ... and while they were putting the horses to my chaise, I visited the town ... ... "

Miranda left Bordeaux the next day and continued on his travels passing though Rochefort, where he noted that the principal commerce was the slave trade with the Guinea coast. *"Cursed* be it" he wrote in his notes. Then he passed on through La Rochelle to Nantes, where he arrived on April 19th.

"What a beautiful spring day, the first I have really seen this year! I spent a delighful and profitable time reading 'Thelamaco', until ten when Mr. Rieder come in his carriage and we went to see the city ... ... I came back to my Inn to dress and at 2½ went to dine *en famille* with Mr. Rieder. They had a piano forte in the house, which they were thinking of buying and talked of nothing else!"

Nantes
April 20

"Madame was amiable and also Mr. Prebois, who dined with us ... ... at 9 I went to escort Madame Rieder to the house of Mr. Bureau, who had asked us to supper ... we found there a very select company ... ... among others Mr. de Carcoüet, President of the Chamber of Accounts, who spoke to me at length as to the present situation, and concluded saying that all that was needed was to say to the States General that it should find the money necessary and that their Excellencies should unite in this task ..., ... but as that was impossible to obtain ... each of them would have to go home! ... ... (I also talked) with the Brigadier Butler on military matters ... we went in to supper (24 places) and I gave one arm to Madame La Presidente and to Madame Rieder, the other. There was also among the guests a Mlle. Prebois, 18 years old, the most beautiful woman I have seen in France! ... ... After supper the gamblers took to their cards and I talked a bit to Mr. Thurninger about my travels ... ... and then back to my Inn ... ... "

"Another beautiful day ... ... and after I had finished reading with great pleasure, 'Thelemaco', I went to see the Church of 'La Carmen', where there is the

magnificent tomb of the Duke of Brittany, Francois II, built about 1.500 ... ... by a certain Michel Colombe, who was an excellent artist ... ... and it would be fitting that the present day sculptors should imitate him ... ... then on to the Chamber of Accounts to see the interior and the President Carcoüet, who met me at the door, showed me the offices, which are the best of their kind I have ever seen ... ... also the Archives, which are constructed in a vault ... ... later to the Courts and afterward to the *Chateau,* an ancient building, the interior of which is really a magnificent *Palace* ... ... once the residence of Dukes of Brittany ... ... following along the bank of the river, I reached Mr. Rieder's house and paid a visit to Mr. Thurninger, who gave me much information about this region and offered me letters, etc. ... ... then to the *Bourse,* where with Mr. R ... ..., I went to see the Library, called 'La Soleille' ... (there are five Libraries in this City), which was in excellent order and contains a good collection of public documents, maps and many books ... ... the rules of this institution are attached herewith ... ... there is no doubt but that this type of institution facilitates the education of young men in business ... ... I looked over some of the maps and a Captain, in the slave trade explained to me how these miserable creatures come aboard in chains and are packed in rows like *sardines!* etc. ... ... poor unfortunate souls! ... ... I looked in at the Stock Exchange and spoke to one of the members, a sensible person ... ... at seven, Mr. Thurninger brought me various letters and told me that this town does some fifty million crowns of business per year, which consists, almost in its entirety, in the slave traffic; there being 135 vessels employed in this trade annually ... ... he said that Brittany is about a century behind the rest of France! ... ... I observed something to-day, which proves the frivolity of the French and the madness of Fashions ... .. as Mlle. Candeille (a noted pianist) has played so well on the piano-forte and everyone spoke so much about it last night, all of the *Dames of Fashion* were buying piano-fortes this morning....

Nantes
April 21
1789

on my way home I noticed not less than eight pianos being borne through the streets from the music shop ... there is a great supper party going on in the rooms of my neighbor, the same Mlle. Candeille and there is not one man of the *bon ton,* who has not visited her ... ... what singing and noise! ... ... I wrote until twelve and have everything ready to leave here at dawn ... ... "

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* *

Miranda, that keen observer of men and nations, was nearing the end of his six long years of wanderings. Wanderings they were, in a certain sense, but he had planned an itinerary, which gave him full opportunity to study the Northern and Southern European races and to note their re-actions to liberal ideas, both in social and in political life.

His notes were made with evident thought for the future and his reflections, on the governmental and legal systems of the various countries he visited, were set down to aid him in his task of attempting to devise a plan of government for South America, should his great Ideal ever become a reality.

That he was advanced in his ideas as to prison and public institutional reform, is evidenced in his continual references in his diary to his visits to hospitals, asylums and to prisons. He had certainly given these matters mature thought, as is seen from his talks in Copenhagen with Shemelmann, when the latter advised him that his, Miranda,'s, recommendations for the betterment of conditions in the prisons had been accepted by the Government of Danemark.

Another trait which he seems to have acquired very early and which was certainly none too prolific in the XVII th. Century, was his interest in the cleanliness of Cities and of buildings. This, coupled with his knowledge

of architecture was an indication that he had in mind an idea for reforms in this connection, if he should ever be in a position to put them into effect.

That these years of travel were in preparation for leadership, goes without saying, and certainly no traveller kept his eyes more widely open to all and every sort and condition of life, than did Miranda.

The commerce of the European World interested him most profoundly and he may have had visions of the development of a huge world commerce when South America should be finally liberated from Spain. He had seen in his boyhood, the severe restrictions imposed in his native land on its commercial relations and had taken to heart the obvious evils of the system instituted in Venexuela through the wide control of the Compañía Guipuzcoana (1), which was established there under Royal Patent early in the eighteenth century. An evidence of

(1) The Compañia Guipuzcoana. so named from the maritime Province of Guipuzcoa, in the Spanish Basque region, which had its headquarters in the city of San Sebastian, celebrated a contract with the Spanish Crown on September 25th. 1728 for the monopoly of all the commerce with the Province of Caracas, which contract also gave authority to the Captains of the Company's vessels to pursue and capture all vessels engaged in illicit commerce with the coast of Venezuela.

The King, Phillip V, was the first stock holder and received 200 shares worth some 100.000 pesos. The Province of Guipuzcoa suscribed for 100 shares and many individuals in Spain and in Venezuela bought shares in the Company.

Dr. José Gil Fortoul in his notable work "Historia Constitucional de Venezuela", Vol. I, page 99, states that he believes that the Company was beneficial for Venezuela in as much as the merchants of that country acquired a more stable market for their products than they had had before in Spain and received from the mother country a larger proportion of merchandize.

The Company continued on with its monopoly in Venezuela until the year 1.780, when the commerce was opened to others, to some extent under Carlos III.

It is certainly probable, however, that Miranda, with his liberal ideas, did not feel that the monopolistic system which the Company had implanted in the country of his birth, was one which he could consider as the most beneficial.

the vast power of this Company is seen in the La Guaira of to-day, for the building used by the present Customs House, is the same edifice which the *Guipuzcoana* constructed for its use, nearly two centuries ago. This vast building with its enormous walls and huge strong rooms stands as a monument to that Basque force and energy which controlled in a grip of iron a large portion of the South American continent.

The literature, the arts and the theatre of all countries, interested Don Francisco to the fullest degree, and even if he may be severe in his criticisms of what he saw, he took every opportunity to visit, where ever he found himself, art galleries, museums and theatres and from them absorbed, something at least, for his future use.

The young philosopher, who, in his early youth, had become imbued with the principles of the "Rights of Man" and who had read widely in almost all languages, had become, like Montesquieu, in whose writings he took the greatest delight, a "moderate reformer". His mind was turning to the formation of an advanced independent South American state, in whose constitution would be embraced all of the best of the old ideas and a great many of the new.

His admiration for the English system of law and government knew no bounds and he had taken to heart the lessons learned in the new United States of America, which country, altough in its infancy, had won his affection and respect.

So he pursued his journey on through Northern France with rapidity and looked forward to a time when he could find a much needed repose and an opportunity to set in proper order all of his immense store of observations, as well as a breathing space to crystalize the ideas which were seething in one of the most active and cosmopolitain brains of the XVIII th. Century.

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In this frame of mind, Don Francisco journeyed through Brittany on to the small town on Vannes and then to the picturesque port of L'Orient where he spent several days, much interested in its commerce with China and the East.

L'Orient
April 23
1789

" ... ... arrived at L'Orient at 1 p. m. and lodged at the 'Epée Royale' the best Inn but very dirty and bad rooms, in the style of the country. ... ... after dinner Mr. Thedoroe Rivier came to see me, to whom I had brought letters and after conversing a little we arranged to go sightseeing in the morning ... ... as it was raining I remained in the house reading until late and then with great melancholy, went to bed ... ... "

April 24

" ... ... Early to the house of Rivier, who received me kindly and turned me over to his brother to show me the city ... ... we went to locate Mr. Treuttel to whom I had letters ... ... then we commenced our tour ... ... first to the Marine Arsenal ... ... in which there were two ships of 74, under construction ... ... five ships of 74 were in the Canal ... ... later we visited the vessels engaged in the China trade and went on board of the 'Marechal de Duras' and the 'Duc de Normandie', which are preparing to sail immediately ... ... and also on board of the 'Duc de Pintievre', which has just reached port ... ... the filth is remarkable and also the negligence with which these vessels are constructed; ... ... however, the officers and men showed me over them with great pride! ... ... we visited the Ware-houses, where the Customs Officials told us about the visit of the Comte du Nord; and spoke in a petulant manner of everything concerning the French, who they imagine outdo the rest of the human race. ... ... these warehouses are the finest and most imposing that I have ever seen ... ... the principal stair-case would certainly do honor to a Palace ... ... all in very good taste ... ... The buildings are of cut stone and the cellars of brick ... ... the commerce (of this port) is on its decline, but I saw a great deal of *Mocha coffee,* and also some from *'L'Isle de Bourbon',* which is held to be the next best ... ... passing

along the street I noticed a cannon-hall in the wall of the 'Church of the Congregationalists', which was fired by the British (in their attack on L'Orient some 20 years before) ... ... (stopping) at a shop I purchased some good handkerchiefs of a Chinese silk for 5 crowns ... ... and a pound of very good China tea for 8 crowns ... ... after dinner I took a boat and want to visit 'Port-Louis', a small village, situated at the entrance to the port, about a league from here, where there is a well constructed fort which covers, with great facility, the entrance from the sea ... ... in the middle of the harbour there is an island called 'St. Michel', which is garrisoned by half a dozen soldiers, who showed us over it ... ... all badly neglected, without a single piece of artillery ... ... we bade farewell to this poor and ugly village and returned, with wind and tide against us ... ... In the evening I went to call upon Mr. Rivier, and found (at his house) a company of ladies, all playing cards ... ... however, a Mr. Adam (Ensign in the Navy), the Captain of a China ship, which had just reached port, conversed with me in regard to the French navy ... ... he seems a man of good judgment ... ... I found out later that he was once in Holy Orders, but had entered the navy and served under Sufrin, and that the Company '(des Indies) has now employed him ... ... home at 10 to the Inn ... ... "

L'Orient April 24 1789

"Writing, as the weather is bad ... ... Mr. Thruttel, came to see me and told me that every year this region sends more than 100.000 francs worth of honey to Holland ... ... also much wax ... ... went to take a walk about the town and noted in the Market Place, a large Cross, without any covering! ... ... which horrified me! ... ... and yet the people criticize the *Portuguese*... Dined with Mr. Adam who told me more about the navy, etc. ... ... later we went to call on Mr. Rivier, where I saw a woman from *Malabar* and and a lady of 24, who had just come from *Pondicherry,* who is married to Captain Christol of the *'Roussillon'* Infantry Regiment ... ... "

April 25

"Writing ... ... then came Rivier to bring me the attached notes about the commerce of this place ... ...

he tells me that, now, hardly a single American (vessel) comes here because the tobacco monopoly makes it impossible to do any business of that nature ... ... There are about 45 commercial houses here ... ... I dined with Madames Rivier and Christol ... ... then to the Theatre, which is small, eliptical in shape and not badly proportioned ... ... but what a ridiculous piece the strolling Italian players gave us! ... ... Madame Christol, who entered a theatre and saw a play for the first time in her life, was terribly scandalized ... ... but this play is *nothing* compared to *'Figaro'!* ... ... Here is another proof of the corruption of the French Theatre! ... ... we passed the rest of the evening in conversation in regard to India, etc., ... and Captain Christol told me that the Nobles of Brittany, had stated, the other day, in their Assembly that they were *Bretons* before Frenchmen! and consigned *Necker* to the *Devil;* home at 10 ... ... "

L'Orient
April 26
1789

From L'Orient Miranda continued on through Brittany, passing by Quimper to Brest; and then on to Normandy making notes in each place he visited, as to his observations.

"(Visited) the Port and Rope-Walk; the Galleys with 3.300 convicts at forced labor; robbers, smugglers, deserters ... ... The Port looks not unlike Sebastopol ... ... Magnificent warehouses and other buildings of the Arsenal. The Harbour in about one *league* long. It was constructed by Mr. Sanne ... ... Supped at the house of Mr. *Real,* Chief of the Squadron ... ... His son in law told lewd stories as he showed me about ... ...

Brest
May 5
1789

(Saw) three negro boys from the African Coast, who are being educated here during three years, by the Brothers of Charity ... ...

To the Marine Academy and Model Room ... ... There are three Drydocks of 22 feet (depth) and three of 23 feet. Ships in the Docks: 'Le Royal Louis', and 'La Bretagne', both three deckers. 'L'Etat de Bourgogne' of 174 guns, 190 feet from stem to stern. Saw three deckers and four under construction ... ..., in all 36 ships.

(Ships) of 74 cost 1½ million and the three deckers 2 million *Livres Tournois.*

The 'Experiment' of 44, an English Prize also the 'Northumberland' How the Devil did these people take them! ... ... "

"The Docks are spacious. In the Harbour are the ships 'Triton' and 'Brilliante' of 64 ... ... The view from Roule is comparable to Switzerland ... ... Left at 12 and luckily crossed the ferry at low tide to Isigny, where the Chateau of Mr. de Lucerne is located; it is uninhabited and with out any woods ... ... There are wonderful meadows, just as in Holland. Slept at Formingy ... ... the country side is as lovely as any I have seen in France ... ... "

Cherbourg
May 10
1789

"A lovely Town. Garrison with troops. The women work at lace making as in Flanders ... ... The clock tower of the Cathederal is graceful ... ... Seminary of Priests ... ... Hospital with separate divisions for men and women ... ... passable ... ... A school where rhetoric and other subjects are taught; the same curriculum as in Caracas ... ... "

Bayeux
May 12

"The Hotel de Dieu has six tiers of Cubicles, each with its bed ... ... but somewhat dirty and the air is not very pure ... ... there are ill persons of both sexes... The Cours de la Reigne is an agreeable promenade ... ... a beautiful painting of the baptism of St. John by Le Brun (at) the Abbey of St. Etienne de Caen ... ... 24 monks ... ... magnificent Church with a stone to mark the place of the tomb of William the Conqueror ... ... His portrait is here ... ... fine refrectory ... ... but no library ... ... (I read) 'Les-Anglo-Normandes Antiquities' by Dr. Ducarel, who speaks of Normandy as an *orchard,* with but little population ... ... he gives a description of the Bayeux Tapestries ... ... also an analogy between the Normands and the English of today ... ... The Library of the University has 14.000 volumes ... ... it is open 4 days a week ... ... and is really interesting ... ... there are portraits by Bouchart and Huet, etc., and also a good Plato by Etienne. There

Caen
May 14

is certainly a relationship between these people and the English!"

Havre
May 16
1789

"To see the Light-houses; at St. Adresse ... ... two lights, made by la Heve ... ... which burn oil and have reflectors and are seen for ten leagues in the Channel ... Promenade to La Chaussée and the country house of Mr. de la Chausse, Director of the manufacture of tobacco. ... ... dined with the Intendant and discussed the traffic in blacks with Mr. de Foache ... ... he has a fortune of seven to eight millions ... ... also had a conversation with Mr. Lamblardy, Director des Ponts et Chaussées du Havre, who assured me that the Corvée brought the the Kingdom 9 million and added to it the six for bridges it totaled 15 million annually ... ... population of Havre 25.000.

"Left at 7 ... ... lovely road and country side quite English ... ... the pasants very well dressed ... ... Entered Rouen through a wide and beautiful avenue of trees ... ... lodged at the 'Hotre de la Maison Royale'..."

Rouen
May 18

"A most delightful theatre ... ... oval in shape and very plain ... ... I note a remarkable superiority in the Italian music of the opera 'La Servante Maitresse' ... ... (I saw) The Missel of St. Ouem, at the monastery of the Capuchins (1) ... ... a 'Descent from the Cross', beautiful painting by La Hire ... ... Death of St. Francis by Jouvenet ... ... Garden of the monastery and library of 12.000 volumes (!) ... ... To the Hospital—355 sick

(1) Dom Gourdin, Bibliothecaire de l'Academie.

D. Gourdin a l'honneur de présenter ses devoirs á Monsieur le Comte de Meroff et de lui envoyer deux petites disertations anglaises sus la Pucelle et sur le vieux Palais de Rouén.

Si demain vers onze heures et demie ou midi Monsieur le Comte est libre et peut venir manger un potage á l'abbaye de St. Ouem, il fera honneur et plaisir á D. Gourdin et á ses confreres.

20 May. 1789.

A Monsieur Le Comte de Meroff
a l'hotel de la Maison Royale.
Rue des Carmes.

Rouén.

T. XVII, f. 113 a 115.

in hospital, 2 to 3 to a bed ... ... Church building by the Architect Mr. Brunent is fine ... ... the air is foul ... the kitchen passable and the 'Soeurs Grises' are in attendance ... ... Left on fine road, although badly paved ... ... the banks of the river are beautiful ... ... but beggars by the dozen, which is a crime ... ... "

From Rouen he proceeded on to the French capital, which he had, for so long a time, wished to visit.

Miranda's stay in Paris in the early summer of 1789, was of short duration. Here he remained incognito, using the name of the Count de Meroff (1), and made himself known only to a very few persons. He kept certain notes, which were to be incorporated later in his diary, as he probably did not wish any of his intimate reflections to fall into unfriendly hands, and he apparently never took the necessary time to write, in his usual form, any of his first impressions of the French capital, as no lengthy diary of these days is included in his Archives.

"Notes for the diary".

Paris
May 24
1789

"For more details see the book entitled 'Curiosities de Paris et environs de Paris', J. A. Dulaure ... ... To the Louvre, whose colonnade is excellent; but the pillars are finer—Saw the *Pont Neuf,* and the state of Henry IV, but it is not well done! The Houses of Parlement are fair—the iron grilles are very good".

"Versailles. St. Cloud. A halberdier made us kneel... Petit Trianon; with a miserable English garden. There are 12.000 persons lodged in the Palace, 4.000 servants in

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(1) Le Bon. de Grimm espere que Monsieur le Comte de Mérof est content de son voyage, quoique le temps n'ait pas été bien favorable. Il a l'honneur de lui envoyer les deux billets qu'il lui a demandés. Il ferá bien de les envoyer de bon matin a differents jours a leur adresse et de faire demander á ces Messieurs l'heure et le jour oú il sera sur de les trouver afin de l'epargner des voyages inutiles. Je prie Monsieur le Comte de Méroff d'agréer les hommages.

Ce mercedi 3 Juin 89.

(Paris).

T. XVII, f. 132.

ordinary quarters, the coaches, etc., require 2.000 coachmen, etc.—total 18.000 persons!

(Went to see the home of) Madame de Meaux, where the King lunched ... ... and the place where Madame de Pompadour showed her legs to Louis XV!"

"To the *'Comedie Francaise'*, but they sent us away as the Daulphin had just died".

Paris May 25

"A clever dentist fixed my teeth in an admirable manner for 12 (crowns). He talked all the time about the *rights of man,* and with some judgment! ... ... Had a conversation with Mr. Marmontel, who explained to me in a clear manner the intrigues of the present moment ... ... but spoke most un-intelligently on the subject of the English constitution and that nation ... ... "

June 8 1789

"To call on the Baron de Grimm—on Mr. Gernani and Madame Deodati—all received me very well. To the King's gardens; then to have a tooth put in ... ... Afterwards to the Chateau de Madrid which is in ruins ... ... on to Bagatelle, where I was refused entrance by order of the Court d' Artois ... ... to the Duke of Oreans' where the same thing happened ... ... and the guard insulted us when we entered through an open gate ... ... "

"Left (Paris) and travelled on beautiful roads, almost all with allées of trees, through a part of Picardy ..... and finally arrived at Calais ... ... "

*
* *

Open persecution in France at the hands of the Spanish Government was the reason for Miranda's extreme care in remaining unknown in Paris. Also, he had formed such a very poor opinion of the existing Government of that country that he had no great love for the nation as a whole. He had, indeed, suffered considerable inconvenience through the importunities of various French officials, who were cooperating with Spain in their search for him, and

he, therefore, had no intention of falling into the hands of the enemy.

His travels through a Europe, which was on the eve of great changes, and his many conversations with Crowned Heads and Statesmen had confirmed his views that no help lay on the Continent for any of his plans and he felt that the time was now ripe to develop his ideas in England, the only nation on that side of the Atlantic, which he regarded as imbued with liberal principles, and which, furthermore, was not too friendly with Spain.

The friendly and cordial relations, which had existed between Spain and England during the reign of the second of the Bourbon Kings, had been greatly changed and completely broken under the rule of Carlos III. War had been declared and the peace of 1783 had only acted as a very superficial balsam. Spain continued to resent the continuance, on what she considered was Spanish soil, of the British flag, which flew from the rock of Gibralter and England could not forget the very important part which Spain had taken in the emancipation of her North American Colonies. Miranda had heard rumors, during his travels, of difficulties between the two countries on the north Pacific coast of the American Continent, as to their respective territorial rights. What these difficulties might lead to, he did not know, but he thought that here, possibly, an opportunity offered itself for the furtherance of his plans.

In England he knew he was safe from Spanish persecution and he had already laid the foundation of warm friendships in London. His various disputes with Spanish diplomats and the advices which he had received from friends in various parts, had finally determined his course of policy—that of a decided enemity to the Spanish regime, and he now had worked out, in a far more concrete form, his ideas for the liberation of his country and of the Spanish colonies. So to England he turned for aid in his plans, with a heart full of hope for the future.

It was with a sense of relief and evident satisfaction that, early in June 1789, the weary traveller saw the white

cliffs of Dover loom up in the Channel mist. Miranda was happy to be back in a country, which he honestly admired and whose inhabitants he liked and respected—a country in which he felt at home.

What could be more lovely and more tranquil, than the English country side in summer, he reflected, as his Post-Chaise rolled along the hedge-bordered roads to London, bearing to further and more definite adventures, a convinced and very determined *'Knight Errant of Liberty"*.

*
* *

The following letter from his old friend and travelling companion, Col. Smith, only received a year after its dispatch, gives an idea of the very real dangers which had been lying in wait for Miranda at the hands of Spain, and his letter to Catherine the Great, a translation of which is given herewith, shows his appreciation of all of the very material protection and assistance, which that ilustrious sovereign had been pleased to afford him.

W. S. Smith a Col. Franco. de Miranda.

London, March 26 1788.

My dear friend,

The letter I wrote you yesterday may tend to excite your curiosity, relative to that anxiety which I express for your safety, and you may be at a loss to know from whence it originates. At I propose embarking in the next packet for America, I must give up the hope of seeing you previous to my Departure, and as I have no accounts from you, of your having received the letters I wrote you from Paris in November 1785 *poste restante* at Rome,

Naples, and Genoa, I must conclude they miscarried, and of course you, as yet, remain uninformed, how exceedingly prudent it was in you, not to have visited Paris, with me at that time.

Letter of Col. Smith to Miranda 1788

Indeed I am perfectly convinced if you had been with me, I should have been a painful witness to your Distress and absolute Imprisonment in the Bastille—and now it becomes me to explain the grounds upon which this decided opinion was formed ... ... After we parted at Vienna on the 26th. of octbr. 1785, I travelled with the greatest Expedition, and was so fortunate as to fall in with a French officer and his servant, travelling in a Turkish Dress from Constantinople to Paris with all possible Dispatch. I invited the officer to take a seat with me and permit my servant to travel with his, which he readly consented to; we moved with great diligence and Expedition, Day and night, and arrived at Paris between 5 & 6 o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 6th. of november; we parted at the Barrier gate, and I ordered my Postillon to drive to the hotel of Louis 16th. rue Richelieu.

On my arriving & asking the master of the house, if I could be accomodated with appartments, he answered in the affirmative, but politely begged my name; on giving it, his countenance brightened & bowing, said, he had expected the honour of seeing me 10 Days or a fortnight past, hoped I had an agreable journey, & if I would do him the honour of following him, he would do himself the honour of showing me my appartment. The precience of the man & his superabundant civility, you will doubtless conclude excited my curiosity—and induced me, after I had seen my appartment to inquire, how he came to know, it was my intention to visit Paris, & particularly to put up at his house—he answered, that the Lieutenant General—had informed him of it, and since called twice, to know whether I had arrived, & being very anxious to show every civility in his power, had requested to be informed the moment of my arrival, which, with my permission he would instantly do.

I gave the permission solicited, but was much perplexed to know, who this Lieutenant General was, that had conceived such an affection for me you will doubtless be felicitous to know, how this man in Paris knew that I was travelling thro Europe, and proposed visiting Paris on my way to London, and intended to take Lodgings, during my stay, at the hotel of Louis 16th. rue Richelieu; it astonished me at the time as much as the detail of it now can surprise you.

Letter of Col. Smith to Miranda 1788

I had never communicated it to any one, I had not even told you of it, for it was a matter of little consequence but on taking a retrospective view of what had passed & referring to my Memorandum book. I found, that one day at Dinner with the Marquis de Lafayette, at Postdam in Prussia, when several french officiers were at table, attended each by their respective servants—the Marquis recommended, when I came to Paris, that I should lodge at this hotel, out of Compliment to him, I took out my Pocket book at table, and noted the name of the hotel and street, & never more thought on the subject untill the Postillon on entering Paris, asked me where he should drive? I then directed him to the place above mentioned — from hence I conclude the only way my intention could have been Known, must have been by a Communication, from some one of those servants, attending at the Marquis's table, to this particular friend of mine the Lieutenant General or at his offices, for I have since discovered, that french travelling servants keep more accurate journals than some of theirs Masters, and are in the habit of reporting on their return, (to the police) whatever they may suppose will engratiate themselves with its officers, or yield them a few livres in return—

After getting my Breakfast and dressing myself, I waited on Mr. Jefferson, our Minister at Paris, and in the Course of Conversation, related the singular circumstance that had occurred on my arrival and mentioned the name of the general (which I do not now recollect) who had been thus polite, and asked him if he recollected any one of that name, who had served in America, for I could conceive of

no other Circumstance that could have made me Known to a french general—Mr. Jefferson laughing much, told me, it was the Lieutenant General of the Police and hoped, he did not intend, further, to display his partiality for me, by accomodating me with an appartment in his Palace—*La Bastille*—this tended further to excite my curiosity, rather than alarm my fear—but to procede further with this curious Detail.

On my return to my Lodgings in the evening, my servant, Louis, told me, a gentleman had called and made enquires after my health, and the health of the gentleman who travelled with me, and asked, whether we lodged together—Louis supposing he enquired after the turkish officer who came with me to Paris, answered in the negative & told him, we had parted at the Barrier gate & that he did not Know where he lodged—he was then asked, whether it was the same gentleman who had set out with me from London, and was with me in Russia? —Louis said, 'no'—that that gentleman we had left at Vienna, that the other was one, who had overtaken us on the road; he quite frighted the servant with his pointed enquires, & doubted of the truth asked; said, he would call again, when his master would be at home; this interview between the visitor & my servant took place about 12 O'clock—about 4 in the afternoon another person came and in the Porter's lodge, having formed an aquaintance with Louis, *pro hac,* and having drank together, pressed further interrogatoires relative to my companion, for it seems, my friend, it was you they hoped to see & not me, but being constantly & honestly answered, that his Master had left you at Vienna, I was not honoured by a visit from the Lieutenant General of the Police, nor my servant further interrogated.

Letter of Col. Smith to Miranda 1788

The next day, I think or in a very short time, I visited the Marquis de La Fayette, who scarcely gave himself time to salute me, before he exclaimed, 'I hope to God, my dear friend, your Companion Col. Miranda has not come with you!' I told him you had not, that I had left you at Vienna. He said he was ex-

tremely happy to hear it, & begged me if I wrote, to insist upon your not coming to Paris, for if the Count d'Aranda should know you were in Paris, he, (Lafayette) would be extremely apprehensive for your fate—I immediately wrote you, agreable to the address agreed on, & I think dated Paris 10th. of Nov. 1785 *poste restante* at Rome, Naples, & Genoa, to warn you of the impending cloud, which I had noticed in this hemisphere, the threatening aspect of which I did not conceive you had a just idea of.

I will now further detail a Circumstance relative to you, which came to my knowledge the last summer, when I was at Madrid, as it will tend to corroborate the forgoing statement & must contribute to put you pointedly on your guard—I went from this place in May last, in consequence of an appointment from Congress to transact some public business at the Court of Lisbon; I took the journey by Land, for the purpose of visiting France & Spain on my way to Portugal. I was a few days at París & Versailles, & am really fearfull to detail my opinions of that people and their government, lest at this period I should be laughed at, even by you: but I will venture this much; that important changes may looked for; how far they may be carried without tumult and confusion, or how far short of an actual Revolution they may stop, time only can determine.

Letter of Col. Smith to Miranda 1788

I spent the Month of June with Mr. Charmichael, our Chargé d'Affaires in Spain, & the Court being at Anjuez, we took our station there also, untill the latter part of the Month, when we removed to Madrid. Amongst the Circle of my Acquaintances there, an officer from The Havanah, an aquaintance of Mr. Carmichael, presented himself ... ... I think his name was *Carvahallo,* but be it what it may, he is a Captain in the troops at The Havanah & was at that time negotiating permission from the Minister to supply The Havanah with 10.000 barrels of flour from the United States; Major Plunkrett of our Army was to do the American part of the business if he could obtain permission from the Minister, he flattered himself with the prospect of succeeding, but the Minister,

Galvez having just then died, he was a little embarrassed in his pursuit. I am thus particular in describing the gentleman, least I should have mistaken his name. But this person on his second visit asked me if I had ever, in America, met and become acquainted with a Spanish officer, one Colonel Miranda? I told him I had and had also seen him in London. 'Ah'; said he, 'poor fellow, I knew him also, but we shall neither of us ever see him again': upon my asking him, why he thought so, he answered, that at that time you were confined in the Dungeon of the Castle of Madrid; that having offended your Court, they had found means to descry you on board of a Spanish ship in the river Thames, after your return from a tour you had taken on the European continent, & that the vessel immediately sailed from England for Cadiz, from whence under a strong guard of horse you were brought to Madrid. On my raising some doubts on the subject, he appeared positive as to the truth of it, saying, that a particular friend & intimate Companion of his, commanded the guard at the Castle, the Day, you were brought there; that he saw you & knew you, as well as, he the officer knew me; upon Enquiring I found this story was circulated as au fait in Madrid.

Letter of Col. Smith to Miranda 1788

I could count for it in no other way, than that the King & Court wishing to impress on the public mind the Imposibility of any one escaping who should presume to offend them, had brought some unhappy prisoner under your name from Cadiz to Madrid, & passed him tho' all this pomp of power & tyranical parade to awe the people into submission, as far as your name was Known & their power extends. He went further to excite a belief in my mind of the story, and stated, that as you were captured within the British Dominions, the British Minister at Madrid had orders from his Court to demand your release, that the Demand had been made, & most positively refused to be complied with.

Being acquainted with Mr. Liston the English Minister, I took the earliest opportunity to satisfy myself on this latter part of his story, for the tho' the Dates

of your Capture, did not correspond with the knowledge I had of your movements, I acknowledge, I felt myself much alarmed & distressed for you, but Mr. Liston, the English Minister, assuring me that no such circumstances had come to his knowledge, I flattered myself with the hope that it might all be Court fiction, which by your letter from the North I am happy to be confirmed in.

Letter of Col. Smith to Miranda 1788

I embraced several opportunities of mentioning your name amongst the *Corps diplomatic,* simply to feel their pulse, but I found them not fond of dwelling on it, & could get very little from any of them: but one day at Dinner with Mr. Zenovich, Minister from the Empress of Russia, when I mentioned your name, he said smiling, that he believed the Court of Spain considered you as a very bad subject: from these Circumstances, my friend, if this letter should ever reach you, you must be convinced of the necessitiy of exercising all the prudence and caution you are master of, in your travels—not only for your own sake, but for the pleasure of foil ing a tyrant & his Ministers; for if ever they lay their hands on you, you must bid *adieu* to Liberty & Society. Heaven guard you from their grasp & be assured, that on my arrival in America, where I calculate upon spending my Days in tranquility & happiness, I shall be always pleased to hear of your well-fare.

Your sincere friend,

W. S. Smith.

Negociations.
Tomo I.—1770-1799.

*
* *

At London—July 20, 1789.

Madame:

Having, at this very moment, completely terminated, in a successful manner, due to the benign protection of Your Majesty, the extended project of my voyages in Sweden, Danemark, Holland, Switzerland and through the whole of France, I permit myself, again, to take up my pen to offer at your feet the humble expressions of my profound gratitude and my never ending devotion to the August Person of your Majesty. The Court of Spain has so openly shown its opposition to me, following the suggestions which Normandez sent from Petersburg, that it would have been impossible for me to take *even* one step, without making use of the protection, which Your Majesty was gracious enough to accord me ... ... and even a very small part of it was sufficient to protect me without the slightest opposition or difficulty.

Letter of Miranda to Catherine the Great 1789

The Spanish Ambassador, Del Campo, received me here with politeness and friendship; but I know, positively, that his secret instructions are far from favorable for my person, and he has already taken certain hidden steps to injure me.

I have asked M. le Comte de Woronzow to inscribe me among the personnel of Your Majesty's Embassy here, which appears to me to be sufficient (together with certain small legal precautions) to ward against all of the iniquitous procedures, which they are capable of attempting. Having now been able, through the goodness of Your Majesty, to obtain the repose and tranquility, which were necessary so as to set down in proper order my observations; and to arrive at some satisfactory arrangement for my future, in regard to which I am continually preocupied, I trust that I may count on being able to continue under the protection of Your Majesty, which is the sole support, that I believe remains to me today, since after the perfidious persecution, which has been lanced against me in Madrid, I have suddenly been deprived of all of my patrimony ....

as well as of correspondence with my parents and family in America.

Happy are those who, under the Government of an enlightened, wise and philosophic Sovereign, sheltered from fanaticism and from the Inquisition, may calmly pass the remainder of their days in the cultivation of Letters and in the exercise of Virtue!

May the Supreme Being allow the estimable life of Your Majesty to continue for ever, to bring happiness to your subjects and for the consolation of the entire human race.

I have the honor,
to be,
with profound respect,
Yours Majesty's,
very humble and obedient
servant,
(s) *Francisco de Miranda.*

To Her Imperial Majesty
Catherine II
Empress and Sovereign
of all the Russias,
Petersburg.

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* *

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